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'Text' of CSCE Document on Yugoslavia

LD1110123691 Prague CSTK in English 1051 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Prague Oct 11 (CSTK)—The following is the full text of the document adopted at the one-day emergency session of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on Yugoslavia here on Thursday:

The committee of senior officials of the CSCE, reaffirming its earlier resolutions on Yugoslavia and deeply concerned about the lack of respect therefore;

deeply disturbed by the recent escalation of violence in Yugoslavia, causing loss of life and human suffering; appalled by the irresponsible behaviour of different Yugoslav parties which calls into doubt their willingness to settle their disputes by peaceful means;

reiterating the determination of all participating states never to recognise any changes of borders, whether external or internal, brought about by force' deeply concerned about the increasing destruction and loss of life;

noting that most delegations expressed their unreserved condemnation of the usurpation of power by representatives of two republics in the Yugoslav Federal Presidency contrary to the established constitutional order of Yugoslavia as well as the Charter of Paris;

recalling the document of the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE which emphasises that issues relating to human rights, fundamental freedoms, national minorities, democracy and the rule of law do not belong exclusively to the internal affairs of the state concerned;

recalling UN Security Council Resolution 713/91:

Welcomes the conclusions reached at the meeting held in The Hague on 4 October 1991 which was chaired by the EC Presidency, with the participation of the president of Croatia, the president of Serbia and the federal minister of defence, on the principles which should guide a solution for the Yugoslav crisis, notably the principle that a political solution should be sought on the basis of the perspective of recognition of the independence of those republics in Yugoslavia wishing it, at the end of a negotiating process conducted in good faith and involving all parties;

welcomes the memorandum of understanding, which was signed on 8 October 1991 in Zagreb under the auspices of the European Community by representatives for the federal secretary for national defence of the SFRY and for the Republic of Croatia, on a general cease-fire in the territory of Croatia, and urges all parties concerned fully to abide by this agreement, particularly the renunciation of the use of major weapons systems;

warmly commends both the collective and individual efforts of the men and women of the monitor mission to Yugoslavia;

strongly supports the activities of the monitor mission and welcomes the extension and strengthening of these activities in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and recommends that consideration be given to the extension of activities to other areas as appropriate;

welcomes the protocol on the monitor mission signed by the representatives of Hungary and the EC;

condemns any acts endangering the security of members of the monitor mission and its equipment and demands that all Yugoslav parties comply fully with their obligation to protect, and ensure the safety of the mission and its members:,

takes note of the fact that the Western European Union is exploring ways in which the activities of the monitors could be supported so as to make their work a more effective contribution to the peace-keeping effort, the possibilities of which have not been exhausted;

insists on compliance with the commitment, accepted by participating states at the Moscow meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension, to ensure that military and para-military forces be subject to the effective direction and control of appropriate democratically elected civilian authorities and to maintain and strengthen executive control over such forces so that their participation in acts of violence and warfare be ended once and for all. The committee furthermore insists on the immedite cessation of mobilisation on all sides;

condemns all violations of relevant norms of international law applicable to non-international armed conflict which have occurred during the escalation of violence in Yugoslavia;

expresses its conviction that those responsible for the unprecedented violence against people in Yugoslavia, with its ever-increasing loss of life, should be held personally accountable under international law for their actions;

takes note of the support of many other participating states for the intention expressed on 6 October 1991 by the European Community and its member states to apply restrictive measures to those parties continuing to flout the desire of the other Yugoslav parties as well as the international community for a successful outcome of the conference on Yugoslavia;

welcomes the continued engagement by all parties to the Yugoslav crisis in the conference on Yugoslavia;

urges all Yugoslav parties to take an active and constructive part without delay in the conference on Yugoslavia which provides the essential framework for finding a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis which respects the rights of all who live in Yugoslavia, including minorities;

welcomes the progress which has been made at the conference on Yugoslavia on 10 October 1991;

welcomes the fact that parties which are not participating in its proceedings have been given access to the conference and recommends that such access be granted to other parties concerned;

considers that the unsettled issue of national minorities perpetuates the tension and instability and considers that the conflict must not be used for forcible change in the ethnic composition of the different areas;

agrees that a successful outcome of the conference on Yugoslavia should contain international guarantees for the protection of the rights of national minorities in accordance with the standards and commitments of the CSCE;

underlines the importance of the immediate and full implementation of resolution 713/91 of the United Nations Security Council and welcomes the appointment of Mr Cyrus Vance as the special representative of the UN secretary-general.

Will examine ways in which the institutions of the CSCE, including the CPC [expansion unknown], could further assist in the implementation of the provisions of this resolution.

Poland Defines Security Policy at CSCE Meeting

LD1110060291 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Vienna, Oct. 8—Poland has decided to base her security chiefly on international solidarity. This assumes close cooperation and "equal proximity" to our great neighbours in the West and East, participation in the development of cooperative security regime within the CSCE framework and close ties of cooperation with the Atlantic alliance, Polish Deputy Minister of Defence Janusz Onyszkiewicz told his counterparts and chiefs of general staffs from 38 countries of the CSCE gathered here for a seminar on military doctrines and concepts.

Onyszkiewicz went on to say that Poland wanted to increase her security through cooperation with Czechoslovakia and Hungary and pointed out that the leaders of the three states had appealed on Sunday for their direct inclusion into the activities of NATO.

The Polish defence official came out for strengthening the institutions of the CSCE, such as the centre for preventing conflicts, by transforming them from discussion forums into decision-making bodies. He said the Polish Armed Forces assumed purely defensive character. All their components and structures which served the old military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact coalition had been eliminated. "We do not consider any state our enemy" and "we do not want to threaten any state," stressed Onyszkiewicz in his address to the Vienna seminar. "Our defence force is built on the principle of adequate strength, which means it guarantees the ability to defend our territory and the inability to mount aggressive operations."

Onyszkiewicz listed practical steps taken to implement these principles, such as the dissolution of heavily armoured units and missile units, as well as big logistic structures. He told the meeting that the manpower of the Polish Armed Forces will be cut to 230 to 250 thousand, to reflect the country's defensive needs, economic situation and the requirements of the CFE. In case of a mobilization Poland will be able to field an army of 750 thousand, said Onyszkiewicz.

He pointed out that the Army must be prepared to counter an attack from any direction. Therefore military units must be deployed evenly on the whole territory of Poland, which means that some units stationed in western Poland will be moved to the east. The country will be divided into four, instead of the present three, military districts.

"The European order as determined in Yalta and Potsdam is a matter of the past," said the Polish delegate in conclusion. "This means a new situation also for Poland. We do not expect, at least in the foreseeable future, a military danger to our existence, but we do perceive the need for filling the security vacuum now existing in central and eastern Europe."

SFRY's Suspension of Danube Navigation Protested

AU1110183091 Sofia BTA in English 1634 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—In connection with the suspension of navigation on the Danube unilaterally imposed by Yugoslavia, on October 11, 1991 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria presented a note to the Yugoslav Embassy which points out that the suspension contravenes the generally established principles of International Law, the 1948 Convention Concerning the Regime of Navigation on the Danube and the 1969 Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties.

The note insists that Yugoslavia honour the international obligations it has assumed and open its section of the Danube to navigation.

Yugoslav Authorities Turn Back Vessel on Danube

AU1210200091 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Report by BTA correspondent Nikola Kitsevski: "Navigation of the Danube in Croatia Becomes Dangerous"]

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (BTA)—A Czechoslovak and a Yugoslav ship navigating the River Danube came under fire today in the region of the military operations in Croatia. The Czechoslovak ship was hit in the departments. [as received] That was why the Bulgarian Vasil Petleshkov motor push boat which started upstream this morning was returned by the Yugoslav military authorities and anchored at the 1,317 km, where it will most probably remain till Monday, a representative of the Bulgarian Shipping Company in Belgrade told BTA.

The other Bulgarian ship, the Ivan Vazov tow boat, which came under fire on Tuesday in the same sector of the river, reached the Hungarian border at noon today.

The state of the second pilot of the ship, who was wounded in the chest and taken to a hospital in Novi Sad is stable, but according to the doctors his life is not completely out of danger yet.

Joint Statement on Visit of Croatia's Greguric

AU1110182291 Sofia BTA in English 1656 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Dr. Franjo Greguric, prime minister of Croatia, visited Bulgaria October 10 and 11, 1991 at the invitation of Prime Minister Dimitur Popov.

Dr. Franjo Greguric was received by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and held talks with him.

The two prime ministers declared their support for the decisions of the conference in The Hague and all other international efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Prime Minister Dimitur Popov expressed Bulgaria's readiness to recognize the independence of the Republic of Croatia after the creation of the appropriate international conditions.

Bulgaria reaffirmed its position on the inadmissibility of revising Yugoslavia's internal borders and again categorically condemned the use of force aimed at territorial gains and revision of the Yugoslav internal borders. The Bulgarian Government reiterated its position on the need to take into consideration the existing realities and the interests of all Yugoslav peoples, including their right to form sovereign states, to choose the future form of their country independently and on an equal footing and to determine their inter-relations.

The two prime ministers stressed the traditionally good relations between the Bulgarian and the Croatian peoples and agreed on the promotion of political, economic and cultural relations between the two republics as well as between their mass media. An agreement was reached to set up Bulgarian-Croatian friendship societies in Sofia and Zagreb and to open offices in Sofia and Zagreb respectively which will work for the advancement of cooperation.

The sides share a willingness for wider commercial and economic relations.

It was found during the talks that there are good prospects for increased trade in chemicals, agricultural products and food and for extended cooperation in construction and ship repair. Tentative lists of goods were discussed which will be complemented and expanded depending on the possibilities of companies in the two countries. The Croatian side presented a draft trade agreement, and Bulgaria accepted it as a basis for a future agreement. Both sides expressed desire to encourage direct business contacts at the company level and to open negotiations on the establishment of a joint chamber of commerce.

The two prime ministers stressed their conviction that Bulgaria and Croatia should establish friendly relations and engage in broad and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric invited a Bulgarian Government delegation to visit Croatia. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Prime Minister Popov Meets Ground Troops Command

AU1110142491 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 91 pp 1, 3

[Report by Major Georgi Vuchev: "Bulgaria Will Really and Tangibly Participate in Allied Europe"]

[Text] On 8 October, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov met the Command of the Ground Troops.

He stated that national security has various aspects and nuances in accordance with the period in which the issue is analyzed. Today, national security must be viewed

first of all against the background of the multicolor mosaic of modern Europe, which has completely relinquished confrontation and aspires to a future common house. This is a new Europe, which, after signing the 1990 CSCE Paris Agreement, broadly opened its doors to economic, political, and military cooperation. This means that Bulgaria's borders have been guaranteed by political agreements, and NATO (in the persons of Manfred Woerner and Dan Quayle) can provide the military guarantee for the calm and inviolability of the continent and the future formation of a united Europe, which includes the Republic of Bulgaria. All of the military structures on the continent must find their places in that formation. The government and the Ministry of Defense are doing everything possible to make Bulgaria's participation in that formation real and more tangible. Frequent contacts with representatives of the armed forces in Europe and across the ocean, the transparent character of mutual relations, and certain adaptations in our military doctrine and structures represent our first steps in that direction.

The specific geopolitical conditions in the Balkans, Bulgaria's central place in the Balkans, and the changes in the USSR will inevitably make us stop identifying ourselves occasionally as an East European or a West Asian state and will elevate Bulgaria to a higher rating on the political scale, in the direction of Europe. In this context, Mr. Popov briefly analyzed our relations with the neighboring states. We have no serious problems with Romania. The issue of southern Dobrudzha should be considered as finally decided. The mutual openness with Greece will categorically be conformed by the treaty that will be signed with that country. The treaty has a special article on the agreement to refrain from attacks. The government has adopted a draft on a similar treaty with Turkey. The government's position on Yugoslavia is well known. Bulgaria will by no means exploit the complex situation in Yugoslavia. However, it will lend a helping hand to all those who consider themselves Bulgarians and seek refuge in Bulgaria in an extreme situation.

Last but not least, Bulgaria's national security is related to the Bulgarian Army's potential and real values. The Bulgarian Army's role in guaranteeing the sacred Bulgarian borders and serving as a basic stabilizing factor in the democratic changes in our country has been proved. Therefore, despite its modest possibilities, the state will have to allocate the necessary funds to provide the Army with the appropriate equipment and specialists and to ensure the appropriate social status of the Bulgarian soldiers so that they can not only fulfill their duty calmly but also acquire the necessary self-esteem.

Mr. Popov said he realizes that the officer's profession is not very attractive and that there are not many candidates, as is the case with the hot seat of the prime minister. The reason is the low pay and the failure so far to resolve the issue of the military's social status. The government is now doing everything necessary within the framework of its possibilities to correct this not so attractive situation.

Foreign Minister Vulkov Leaves for Paris

AU1410152091 Sofia BTA in English 1426 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—A delegation led by Mr. Viktor Vulkov, minister of foreign affairs, left for Paris today. It will attend the 26th session of the UNESCO General Conference which opens tomorrow.

The leader of Bulgaria's diplomacy is expected to meet Mr. Federico Mayor Zaragoza, UNESCO director general, and some of his counterparts.

Reportage on Election Results Throughout Country

Early Results

AU1410144091 Sofia BTA in English 1302 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The early results reported by the district electoral commissions show shifts in the electorate's attitudes compared to last year's first free elections.

Districts known as "red" in the last elections now show a split vote between the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] or even a lead of the "blue."

In the district of Sliven, central Bulgaria, where the BSP won 3:1 last year, the two major contenders now polled 36 percent of the votes each and the SDS mayoral candidate won the most votes. The Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party got 4.7 percent and SDS-Center 4.2 percent.

In the town of Vratsa, north-western Bulgaria, where the BSP led decisively last year, the votes were now 38.2 percent for the BSP and 33.4 percent for the SDS. The Bulgarian Agrarian Party-(United) and SDS-Center are somewhat above 4 percent. In the local elections the SDS mayoral candidate stands the best chance of winning.

The DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] lead in the region of Kurdzhali, south-eastern Bulgaria, with a predominant ethnic Turkish population, is indisputable.

In Blagoevgrad, Pirin Macedonia, the SDS leads with 50.2 percent against 22.3 percent for the BSP. In the district of Blagoevgrad the result is 44.1 percent for the SDS against 25.6 for the BSP and 8.9 percent for the DPS. The opposition was expected to dominate in south-eastern Bulgaria.

SDS Leads With 30%

AU1410184691 Sofia BTA in English 1617 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] has obtained 36 per cent, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] 30 per cent, the DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] 7 per cent, the BZNS-United

[Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United] nearly, yet less, than 4 per cent of the vote, according to the estimates of the Central Electoral Commission about the parliamentary elections after processing 30 per cent of the protocols of the electoral commissions throughout the country.

Vote Count Continues; SDS Leads

AU1510100391 Sofia BTA in English 0850 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—At this stage of the vote count, after processing 70 percent of the tally sheets forwarded by the polling districts, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] has an advantage of 3.5 percent over the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. The difference varying from 5-6 to 3.5-4 percent depends on the constituency the data has been sent from. The SDS has a considerable advantage over the BSP in the big cities.

The situation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) (BZNS-United) is still critical. According to the latest information BZNS-United is under the required minimum of 4 percent again.

The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which appears to be the third major political force, will probably keep its more than 7 percent, winning the respective number of seats in the future parliament. Most of the tally sheets forwarded from the regions densely populated by ethnic Turks have been already processed.

It seems that about 25 percent of electors balloted in vain, having given preference to smaller parties which failed to cope with the required 4 percent minimum.

SDS Leader Dimitrov on Election Victory

AU1410074491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Telephone interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces National Coordinating Council, by Lilyana Popova; place not given—live]

[Text] We have on the line Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] National Coordinating Council. Our reporter, Lilyana Popova, is talking to him:

[Dimitrov] I want to address all supporters of the SDS and all those who will understand that the SDS victory is a positive gain for everyone, and to greet them on the SDS election victory. This victory is a great step forward in Bulgaria's life and history and, indeed, marks the end of an era—the era of communism. I want to thank everyone who made great efforts to facilitate this victory. In addition, I want to call upon all the coordinating councils and all the SDS representatives in all the election commissions—please continue to stay at your work place. Let no one leave if more work is to be done because the final counting of the votes has not ended, and your participation in the process is a decisive factor in eliminating mistakes or deviations from the real results.

[Popova] Saturday was a day for deliberation, Sunday a day for elections, and Monday a day for work. Your appeal to your supporters confirms this.

[Dimitrov] Yes, this is so, and I beg everyone, especially those in the election commissions, to remain in their workplaces and to be ready to continue the implementation of their duties until the election process is finally completed.

[Popova] What can you say to the people who might be disappointed with the projected election results? How can you encourage them?

[Dimitrov] I think we all must accept the reality of the election results, regardless of whether we are satisfied or not, and try from now on to use our joint efforts in making this result beneficial to all.

[Popova] Mr. Dimitrov, our listeners have many questions for you, and I take this opportunity to ask you what your plans for the government are. Can you mention names?

[Dimitrov] At present, when the final results are not known and when we still do not know which political forces will participate in the legislature, I cannot answer your question.

[Popova] Nevertheless, you are making plans, and I suppose they are ready....

[Dimitrov] Of course, at the moment we are preparing the composition of the government. This means that there will be talks, consultations, and decisions. However, all this only after the final results are published.

[Popova] Can it be assumed that the SDS hopes that the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United [BZNS-United] and the Nikola Petkov BZNS cross the 4-percent minimum? There appears to be such a possibility.

[Popov] That would be very pleasing because it would mean a legislative majority. That is something we would greet with joy.

[Popova] Thank you very much.

Filip Dimitrov Comments on Priorities

AU1410171491 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Filip Dimitrov, leader of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], told a BTA reporter that the major goal of the future SDS government should be to promote the economic reform.

In his opinion, this could be implemented by accelerating privatization. The other important goal should be

the attraction of foreign investment. Foreign capital is likely to promote our foreign political activities, Dimitrov said.

SDS's Yordanov Discusses Cabinet Possibilities

AU1410190691 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—"Actually, Aleksandur Lilov and Andrey Lukanov are responsible for the Bulgarian Socialist Party's (BSP) loss in the elections. In the future parliament they will be displaced from the leadership by none other than the M.P.'s [members of parliament] of the BSP," Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told a BTA reporter.

"I expect that in the future National Assembly the BSP will split into a group with a Social Democratic orientation and a pro-communist Stalinist faction," Mr. Yordanov added. "The first group will depose the discredited BSP leaders Lilov and Lukanov," Mr. Yordanov said.

As to the future government, there will be no ministers of the Socialist Party in it, according to Mr. Yordanov. However, he does not rule out the possibility for leaders of other, extraparliamentary parties, to enter the cabinet. "We will be the first political force to extend a hand to these parties for a joint political bloc," Mr. Yordanov stressed.

"I do not think the Movement for Rights and Freedoms should have ministers in the new cabinet. It is important to realize now that the SDS is not a party but a coalition of left, centrist and right-wing parties," Mr. Yordanov said in conclusion.

Dimitrov Says 'Coalition With BSP Out of Question'

AU1410083291 Sofia BTA in English 0249 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces will win the elections with 37 percent of the vote, Associate Professor Mikhail Konstantinov predicted. He is the head of the team projecting the election results for the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces].

According to the team, the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] has polled 33 percent of the vote and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms is the third political force in the country. The projection is made by sampling 380 tally sheets with a sampling error of maximum 1.5 percent.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the SDS, told journalists that a coalition of the SDS with the BSP is out of the question. "The Communist Party (now called the BSP) will have a minority in the future parliament. What seemed unbelievable in the last 45 years now has happened," Mr. Dimitrov said.

BSP Split Anticipated After Election Results

AU1410143891 Sofia BTA in English 1309 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Commentary by Evgeniya Drumeva: "BSP Loses Majority, New Cabinet Will Be Hard To Form"]

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—For the first time in decades the Socialist (formerly Communist) Party [BSP] will probably go into opposition. According to projections released this morning, the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) is the front-runner in the general elections, leaving the BSP between 3 and 7 percent behind. All seven teams that conducted a parallel count, including the BSP, reported a SDS lead.

"An epoch in Bulgaria's history is over," the SDS leader Mr. Filip Dimitrov said at the first post-election press conference early this morning, referring to the victory over communism.

Analysts, however, predict a stalemate situation: Although the leading political force, the SDS will still not have a majority in the future parliament, and the breakaway formations (SDS-Center, SDS-Liberals and the Nikola Petkov Agrarians) stand a slim chance of getting the required four-percent minimum. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), which is expected to get between 7 and 9 percent of the votes, will become the third largest political force and will play a key role in the formation of the future cabinet. Social Democrats leader Dr. Petur Dertliev told the press that the DPS is the true winner in the elections.

"We still do not know which political forces will be represented in parliament," said Mr. Filip Dimitrov and for the time being declined to discuss the future government. But he confirmed the SDS's firm commitment against any coalition with the BSP. "We will rely on the DPS's parliamentary support," he said when asked about a possible coalition with Mr. Ahmed Dogan's ethnic Turks movement.

The news of the SDS's lead was at first received with some reservations by its leaders. Only two hours or so after the projections were released they congratulated each other on the victory. According to a number of observers, this result is a real success for the opposition, as the BSP will now probably be ousted from executive power.

Many people expect an acceleration of centrifugal forces and even a break-up of the BSP, with the differences which have recently made themselves felt in its leadership. The BSP leader, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, was asked point-blank if he would resign in case the BSP loss was confirmed. Although he was trying to keep cool as usual, Mr. Lilov lost his nerve when reporters jeered at his statement that the BSP lacks enough information to judge whether the elections had been legitimate (he used the same phrase to describe the BSP reaction to the coup

attempt in the USSR). He said, however, that the BSP will accept the vote of the people the way it is.

All politicians say that for the time being there is no reason to believe that the elections were corrupted.

Lilov, Dimitrov Discuss Election Results on TV

AU1510082691 Sofia BTA in English 2158 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—Mr. Filip Dimitrov, leader of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), did not answer the question whether the SDS will form a coalition government with the Bulgarian ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). In the "Repercussions" programme on National Television this evening Mr. Dimitrov said that the composition of the new parliament is not known yet, adding that forming "a coalition takes continuous soundings and negotiations."

Mr. Dimitrov confirmed that the SDS coalition relies on the parliamentary support of the DPS. "I think we have proved so far that we defend human rights, regardless of ethnic identity," he said. Mr. Dimitrov expressed his conviction that there is an objective basis for unity of views and action between the two political forces.

Mr. Dimitrov said that the SDS is ready to assume the responsibility of ruling the country, with all inevitable difficulties proceeding from the legacy of the past. No Bulgarian citizen has grounds to doubt the election victory of the coalition, according to Mr. Dimitrov, but all people who have committed crimes in the past will be held responsible under the law of the land.

Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, leader of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), expressed the Socialists' readiness to be a constructive opposition. In a declaration on National Television he warned that they will be adamant in the defence of social welfare and will strive to improve the quality of life. Mr. Lilov said that the BSP still is Bulgaria's biggest party and an important factor on the political scene, and called on the BSP supporters to work so as to overcome the crisis and to democratize Bulgaria.

The journalistic and political circles were surprised with the absence of Mr. Ahmed Dogan, leader of the third most influential parliamentary force—the DPS. All attempts to find and interview him failed.

BZNS Hopes To Win National Assembly Seats

AU1510081991 Sofia BTA in English 2109 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) has obtained more than 4 per cent of the vote, Mr. Ivan Glushkov of the party's leadership told a news conference today, without specifying his source.

Mr. Glushkov also said that the Agrarians have secured good positions in the local administration in many places, mostly villages, where they have a traditionally strong position.

He predicted a possible cooperation at cabinet level between the BZNS (United) and the Union of Democratic Forces, stressing the similarity in their platform objectives and in their views on Bulgaria's development.

Both at its first news conference early this morning after the end of the elections and now, the BZNS (United) appeared without its coalition partner, the Constitutional Forum. It was denied that the alliance has "dissolved."

A young man, who claimed to be representing the Constitutional Forum's Press Center, asked whether it was not strange that a party like the BZNS (United) is striving for 4 per cent of the vote, while the illegal Ilinden Organization with pro-Macedonian orientation, is engaged in open propaganda in favour of the autonomy of Pirin Macedonia.

The man asked whether certain facts in the political realities in this country and the election results are not the product of outside intervention.

The leadership of the BZNS (United) ruled out this hypothesis.

SDS To 'Clear Positions' on Coalition With DPS

AU1510142791 Sofia BTA in English 1353 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 15 (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) intends to work for the earliest possible formation of the new parliament. The union believes it is desirable and possible for the National Assembly to be convened as early as at the end of next week, Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, deputy chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, told a press briefing here today.

The SDS is already discussing nominations for parliament's governing bodies, options for the key committees and the procedure for the introduction of some bills on the backlog of the previous parliament.

Consultations have already started on the possible composition of a new government. Three nominees are already sure: Mr. Ivan Kostov, Mr. Ivan Pushkarov and Mr. Filip Dimitrov. In the formation of a cabinet the SDS will rely on parliamentary support of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and was not informed of the movement having a claim on ministerial portfolios. The BTA learnt that this afternoon the positions will be cleared up at talks with Mr. Ahmed Dogan's team.

The Union of Democratic Forces is ready to coalesce with the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) because it sets great store by the agrarian ideas. The union is looking forward in hope to the election results.

Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov is not worried about the stability of the next government and of the new parliament. In evidence, he stressed his conviction that the Socialists who have gone into opposition themselves stand to gain from a preservation of the status quo for as long as possible because in the next elections their performance would be inevitably poorer.

The economic nomenklatura will be fought on the principle of replacing the system rather than replacing people. There will be no privileges for the victims of communism, Mr. Yordanov stated categorically, because this is a characteristic of times past. The outcome of the trials against Todor Zhivkov and people of his entourage depends only on the judicial authorities which will not be influenced by any political force. Mr. Yordanov called on the press to be always in opposition and on all extraparliamentary forces to be intransigent to the government's mistakes and thus help the faster replacement of the system.

It emerged today that, according to the Central Electoral Commission, Sofia's new mayor is the SDS candidate Prof. Aleksandur Yanchulev.

80-Percent Voting Participation Reported

AU1410083891 Sofia BTA in English 0134 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—According to preliminary data released by the Central Electoral Commission about 80 percent of Bulgarians voted for parliament and local authorities. Electors lined up outside polling districts until late at night. The voting process was completed at 03:00 hrs Bulgarian time.

Sociologists expected that about 10 percent of Bulgarian electors would not vote. Until the last moment about 20 percent were undecided as to whether to vote and which political force they should vote for.

According to official data in June 1990, at the first multiparty elections in 45 years, more than 90 percent of Bulgarians cast their votes on the basis of the proportional representation the majority system.

'No Inflow' of Bulgarian Turks for Elections

AU1310134491 Soffia BTA in English 1239 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—The elections for MP's [members of parliament], mayors and municipal councillors started and are proceeding normally. The BTA correspondents throughout the country reported that the polling districts opened at 6 a.m. this morning and that the queues of voters in front of the polling districts are not growing shorter.

The elections are being monitored by foreign and Bulgarian observers. Many Bulgarians living abroad have returned for the elections. It was reported from the Bulgarian-Turkish border checkpoint that despite the expectations there is no inflow of Bulgarian Turks coming for the elections from Turkey.

The elections are taking place peacefully, Mr. Khristo Karaychev, chief of the Press Centre of the Ministry of the Interior, told BTA. Until noon there were registered no violations in guarding the ballot-papers in the polling districts. The crime rate has also dropped: Twice less crimes were registered last night.

Prime Minister Popov Says Elections Legitimate

AU1410074691 Sofia BTA in English 2133 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—There have been no incidents or irregularities which can cast doubt on the legitimacy of the election process, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov said after visiting the campaign centres of the major political forces late this evening.

There is a markedly great interest in the elections on the part of Bulgarians. Those who predicted that there would be a great number of people who would abstain from voting were obviously wrong.

Foreign Observers Note 'Some Irregularities'

AU1310204591 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—The British ambassador to Sofia Mr. Richard Thomas, who visited southwestern Bulgaria today, said in an interview on Radio Blagoevgrad that on the whole things were going well, judging by the operation of most polling districts he had visited. Giving this most general assessment, he meant that the elections and the system of their conduct was rather complicated.

Mrs. Patricia Rawling Mep, European Parliament observer, agreed with the ambassador's impressions. She monitored the elections in Romania and Albania and last year's elections in Bulgaria. She had also been favourably impressed by the election process and expressed the hope that everything will go on normally until the end of the polling day and especially with the votes count.

The guests noted some irregularities. For instance, the polling booths in some districts were screened with transparent cloth.

Observers Praise Elections as 'Fair, Free'

AU1410153491 Sofia BTA in English 1416 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—Foreign observers are pleased with the course of yesterday's elections. Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Ordinary Committee on Regional and Local Authorities with the Council of Europe and the

Assembly of the Western European Union [WEU] were certain that the elections were fair and free.

The Council of Europe representatives said they were strongly impressed by the calm, dignity and exceptional patience of the Bulgarian people and the high turn-out. In their opinion, that disproved the allegations of cynicism and inertness of part of the electorate in the run-up to the elections.

Observers note the complexity of the electoral system which led to some difficulties and suggested that the system be replaced. They have established no serious irregularities that could influence substantially the election results.

"We hope that Bulgaria will soon get some status in the European structures," said the representatives of the Western European Union. They praised the willingness of Bulgaria's Parliament to cooperate with NATO and the WEU.

Some of the observers noted Bulgaria's ethnic problems and pointed out their primary importance in the context of united Europe.

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe will work out a detailed report on the elections and will present it to President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Positive, Negative Election Developments Cited

AU1410190291 Sofia BTA in English 1632 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 14 (BTA)—The conclusion of the international delegation of observers is that the elections in Bulgaria were definitely successful. According to the 60 foreign observers from 23 countries organized by the U.S. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and the U.S. National Republican Institute for International Affairs, Bulgaria has undergone dramatic positive changes since last year's elections.

The leaders of the delegation told journalists today that this year positive changes were observed in the election process too, though a number of administrative shortcomings were also mentioned.

The report of the delegation mentions some attempts to restrict the participation of minorities in the elections. On polling day there were some problems with Bulgarian Turks.

The country's new government, which obviously will be a coalition formed by at least two political forces, should continue the successful political development of the last 18 months, the observers underlined.

The British observers told journalists that in their opinion the elections were fair and free. According to Mr. Bob McCloy, leader of the group, there is no denying that there were irregularities which, however, do not give ground to cancel the elections, irregularities of such character are observed in other countries too, he said.

Mr. Mccloy, who was here as an observer at last year's elections, said that this time people voted more freely and calmly. In his opinion the number of people unwilling to vote was greater and it was mainly citizens who suspected manipulations in the villages. At the same time there were less complaints about irregularities and the reasons for making the complaints were unserious.

Six of the groups he leads monitored the election process in different parts of the country. They did not seek to cover a larger area, but to make an in-depth study of the election process.

A number of recommendations will be made in the observers' report, including ways of improving the election procedure. We are glad that our last year's recommendations have been taken into consideration, Mr. McCloy said. If the election system is further improved, maybe there will be no need to invite us to Bulgaria as election observers any more, Mr. Richard Thomas, ambassador of Great Britain to Bulgaria, added. He also monitored the elections.

EC, NATO Officials Assess Election Results

AU1410202291 Sofia BTA in English 1700 GMT 14 Oct 91

["Exclusive" report for BTA by Paul Montgomery from Brussels: "Democratic Elections in Bulgarian To Speed Negotiations With EC"]

[Text] Brussels, October 14 (BTA)—European Community officials agreed today that the achievement of democratic elections in Bulgaria would give further impetus to speedy negotiations for an association agreement. Such agreements with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland are in their final phase and Bulgaria is next in line.

EC spokesmen were awaiting final results of the election before making an official statement. However, it is well known that a peaceful and fair election was an essential for giving free-trade concessions to Bulgaria. Exploratory talks for such an agreement have already begun but the real negotiations will probably have to await the conclusion of association with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland. One EC spokesman stressed the importance of democratic reforms in reaching the agreement.

At North Atlantic Treaty Organization headquarters here, officials also expressed satisfaction with the conduct of the elections in Bulgaria.

Interior Ministry To Protect Election Documents

AU1410202491 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs has decided to provide protection for the premises in which the documents related to the elections will be stored.

The Council of Ministers has instructed the provisional local government institutions and the municipal councils to provide special premises which will be guarded by the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Faulty Nuclear Plant To Stay Unless West Helps

AU1210164091 Paris AFP in English 0700 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Report by Wolfgang Schweitzer]

[Text] Sofia, Oct 12 (AFP)—Bulgaria will have to rely on electricity from its faulty Kozloduy nuclear power plant this winter unless the West provides energy to replace production from its most dangerous reactors, Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandur Tomov says.

The two oldest units of Soviet VVER-440 design of the mid-1970s, provide between 10 percent and 12 percent of Bulgarian power, Tomov, Minister for Energy and vice president of the Socialist Party, formerly the Communist Party, told AFP in an interview.

Professor Ivan Uzunov, a member of a governmental commission which this week published a damning report on management and safety at the plant, says that it must continue to operate during the winter.

Closure "would cause the death of many people, and particularly among the elderly and young children because of cold and of a shortage of food resulting from electricity cuts," he said.

Uzunov, of the Sofia University nuclear physics department, has studied emissions of radiation at the plant since it was opened.

He said that the probability of an accident at each reactor per year was one in 550. According to Western experts, the probability of a serious accident in Western plants are more of the order of one in 100,000.

Uzunov "prayed to God" that there was no accident during the winter because an incident "could cause serious contamination in the region, in the country and in Europe similar to that caused by the accident at Chernobyl." This was a reference to the April 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power station catastrophe in the Soviet Ukraine which killed at least 31 people and sent a plume of radiation over much of Europe.

Tomov told AFP that he had written recently to the German minister responsible for the environment and safety of reactors, Klaus Topfer, offering to "close permanently" the two oldest reactors if the European Community and other European countries "compensated" Bulgaria for the loss of output.

The entire power station, sited on the Danube in the north of the country, comprises four 440-megawatt reactors of obsolete design, and two more modern reactors each of 1,000 megawatts. Together they provide between 35 percent and 40 percent of national energy production.

The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) wrote to Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov in June warning that "until measures are taken to eliminate critical deficiencies, it would be imprudent to continue to operate the four first reactors."

Several breakdowns have been reported, but there has been no contamination outside the power station. IAEA experts said that they had noted "constant improvement."

Uzunov has said that while he supported nuclear energy at first, he was now against it. "Nuclear energy for Bulgaria was like communism," he said. "First it seemed a good thing, but later one realised that it was a catastrophe."

Bulgaria had had to import 70 percent of its energy materials, mainly oil and coal, although it is one of the biggest producers of uranium ore. Consequently nuclear power was a seductive solution, but subsequently costs to contain the danger posed by the station had risen out of proportion to the savings, he said.

Uzunov also asserted that 3,000 megawatts of potential in conventional power stations could not be exploited for want of spare parts and of technicians to carry out repairs. This was where the West should give priority help, he said.

Bulgaria has said officially that it will not build new nuclear plants and has abandoned a project at Belene on the Danube. But Uzunov alleged that subterfuge was being used to extend the atomic programme as indicated by the recent creation of a "nuclear company" to promote nuclear energy.

20-Percent Drop in Production Reported

AU1110164191 Sofia BTA in English 1200 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (BTA)—Production has decreased 21 per cent in comparison with the first nine months of 1990, according to the National Statistics Institute.

70.2 per cent of the value of the output results from price rises in comparison with the first nine months of 1990.

In September 189 enterprises have not turned out any output. 60.3 per cent of enterprises have registered a shrinkage in production since the beginning of the year.

The slump in production is due to a shortage of raw and prime materials and unrealized marketing.

223,000 people have been laid off since the beginning of 1991. 316,277 unemployed were registered by the end of August.

The industrial output in comparable prices for the first nine months of 1991 has dropped 28.9 per cent as against same period of 1990. The production of staple foods has been decreasing progressively for the nine

months of the year. There is a great drop in electrical engineering, machine building, the chemical and the petrochemical industry. The textile industry and ferrous metallurgy are also on the downturn.

Stagnation has also hit construction and transport. Most of the farm produce has not been gathered in. The tobacco and beet crop is better than last year's but maize, tomatoes, potatoes, apples and grapes have not been brought in yet.

A smaller amount of animal products has been purchased in comparison with the first eight months of 1990.

Considerable changes in the production activity of enterprises are not expected in October.

Carnogursky Receives FRG's Von Weizsaecker

LD1210110591 Hamburg DPA in German 1437 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Bratislava (DPA)—Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker has paid tribute to the cultural and economic links that have grown historically between Germany and Slovakia. At a reception by the Slovak National Council and Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky, the Federal president said in Bratislava on the penultimate day of his five-day visit to the CSFR: "Today, when the division of Europe into two continental parts has ended, new possibilities are opening to pick up lost threads again, to take up from traditions that have been handed down and to develop them within the framework of a uniting Europe." Weizsaecker also indirectly addressed Slovakia's efforts to separate. "Well understood regional and national interests" no longer contradict the idea of a united Europe, he said. "However, we must be careful that the opportunities offered to us by recent history to make freedom and self-determination a reality for our peoples do not become bogged down in particularist interests." Weizsaecker cited the cleaning and protection of the country around the Danube and the building of transportation and communication links as important German-Slovak projects. At the reception, the Federal president expressed the conviction "that the Germans in Slovakia, too, want to make an important contribution to relations between our peoples." For the Slovak Government, the argument over the preamble to the neighborliness treaty is over. Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky gave an assurance of this to journalists today in Bratislava after talks with Weizsaecker. It is not yet certain what attitude the Slovak deputies to the Federal Assembly in Prague would take with regard to ratifying the treaty. However, Bratislava, in any case, would respect the decision of the Federal Assembly. During the talks, in which Slovak National Council Speaker Frantisek Miklosko and Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher also participated, Weizsaecker again made it clear that the sole addressee of the treaty is the whole Czechoslovak state and not the two constituent republics. The treaty is directed toward the CSFR, "and it will be fulfilled on the basis of the Federation," the Federal president said.

Recognition of Slovenian Travel Documents Reported

LD1110183691 Bratislava Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Czechoslovakia will recognize travel documents of Slovenia as of 12 October. This decision was issued by the office of Aliens Police and Passport Service after consultations with the consular department of the Foreign Ministry. The decision was made in light of the continuing process of Slovenia becoming independent and after consultations with some neighboring states.

Havel Interviewed on Screening Law Issues

LD1410091491 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Stanislava Dufkova at Lany presidential residence on 11 October; "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Dufkova] What still bothers you, Mr. President?

[Havel] Many things bother me. The thing that bothers me most is the fact that we have to go through a very complicated period of transition from one system to another. It seems that we all thought that the transition would be easier and quicker, and perhaps we could have done more to make this so. It is a period in which the people's scale of values has been thwarted—even though these values were very questionable—the structure of their lives, of their relations, the structure of authorities and values. At the same time, no new structure has been created, and this has many bad consequences.

For instance, a group of Romanies held a demonstration here at the Castle recently, complaining about skinheads who harass them, beat them, and even kill some of them. This is only one of many expressions of intolerance, spite, racism, and antisemitism. All these expressions are linked precisely to the disintegration of the recent pyramid of values and the non-existence of new ones. People have lost their fear of totalitarian rule, but have not and cannot yet gain sufficient faith in democratic rule.

They do not trust the police; the police do not have any authority, which is one of the reasons, and not the only one, why various groups can rampage like this. People are losing the sense of security that they had before, since they knew that they were living in a police state and knew exactly the limits of what they could get away with. They did not wish to end up in prison. Today, these limits are vague, they have disappeared, and there is a feeling, in particular among young people, that there is no firm point that one can lean on and that the situation is unclear, chaotic, that anything is allowed. At the same time, they feel frustration that nothing is as good as they wish or as they thought it would be after the revolution, and they are searching for a culprit—preferably a simple, comprehensible, and easily defined one, and that means a collective one. Thus, one can read in the papers that some say that it is the Freemasons who are to blame for all our troubles; others say that it is the Jews, others that it is the Czechs, others that it is the Slovaks, still others that it is the Romanies, and everybody says that it is the Communists.

Some easily recognizable culprit from the outside, who is to blame for our own internal troubles, for our sense of insecurity, for our psychological or mental chaos, is being searched for all the time. It is a very difficult phase, all the more so since it is combined with all the other problems—with the reformation of the whole legal

system, where one law is linked to another and they all need to fit together. There is uncertainty over what order they should be adopted in.

Then there are the unsolved problems of the constitutional framework, the emerging political spectrum, political rivalry. All this together creates an unpleasant, unclear, disturbing, unnerving situation that leads to general skepticism, and people are still complaining as they used to do for many decades. However, there is something historically necessary in this. It had to come. We know that after the fall of a dictatorship, for instance, in Spain, Greece, or elsewhere, something usually happens comparable to our situation. [passage omitted].

These are historic crossroads of a great transition, and they carry in themselves many dangers. Suddenly, people are becoming aggressive and long to be ruled by a firm hand. They miss the rule of a firm hand because they are used to it. All this together bothers me a great deal, and I am trying to use all my powers to see that we get through this difficult phase in a short time. [passage omitted].

[Dufkova] It is expected that I will ask you about your attitude today toward the screening bill. I am now doing so and am asking you: Do you already have at your disposal an independent expert opinion on the law on screening and, if so, what are your conclusions? But mainly, will you sign the bill?

[Havel] In our last conversation, I mentioned the law on screening. I was glad it passed. I said that I had not read it completely as of yet. In the meantime, I have read it and asked, not for just one, but for many expert opinions. Some of these have already been done, and from some I have requested more. I have received many viewpoints from various citizens and organizations, and they are very contradictory. I do not, at this moment, as yet wish to reveal my definite attitude toward this law and about the further course I may take. This is because I have not had the time to familiarize myself sufficiently with all this material and ponder my future attitude. Nonetheless, I have to do it quickly, next week before I shall depart for the United States. At this moment, I would perhaps permit myself to make only a few remarks about the law.

In the first place, our democratic revolution, which foreign journalists called a velvet one, was truly magnanimous. It was carried out in the spirit of reconciliation, understanding, forgiveness, and repentance. All those involved in one way or another with the totalitarian system were given a magnanimous opportunity. They could leave their posts quietly and inconspicuously. Nothing would have happened to them. They could have reflected on the role they had played. They had enough opportunities to do so. They have not made use of this opportunity. They have just perked up. They have settled down in various new posts and positions and have even started to laugh at us. People are nervous because of this. They get upset. They suspect us, and here I have in mind the democratic bodies that emerged from the last election, that we are secretly in cahoots with the supporters of the old order; that we made an agreement with them to be good to them and that they would be good to us in turn. I do not know where this agreement should lie. This has aroused general dissatisfaction, nervousness, when people see how the self-same people who were humiliating and persecuting them in various ways for years are still sitting in various offices, occupying leading posts, in farm cooperatives, district authorities, local and municipal administration, Ministries, and the like, and they are working using the self-same methods to which they had become accustomed. They behave towards people in the same arrogant way as they did before.

It would appear that the time has come when it is necessary to deal with this matter in a more resolute manner, and the law is an attempt to take such a step. I would say that it is a somewhat revolutionary law, a law that is attempting to do something from above that our society failed to do and did not have the strength to do from below. In this sense, this law is a natural expression of this historic moment of the general social need to look at the past face to face. We cannot proceed indefinitely from the idea, "let bygones be bygones," and "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours," and the like. This has cost us dearly, on more than one occasion in history. In this sense, I support the very fact of the existence of this law. This is one aspect of the matter.

The second aspect of the matter is that the law is problematic. I am not going to enlarge on all the specific points in which it is problematic, and, to be truthful, when one reads it a bit, one gets goose pimples. Nonetheless, in principle it is necessary. The second thing is that we are going through a stage that, too, is not the first to have occurred in our history, that is the stage when new avengers come on the scene. This has happened on more than one occasion in our history. We know what happened after World War II. [passage omitted]

I simply do not want and probably will not go, although I have not as yet made up my mind, definitely along the line of making a demonstrative gesture; that is, I will simply not sign the law because it seems to me to be a bit problematic and will wait to see what happens. The law will come into operation, and political tension will arise between the legislature and the president, and nothing constructive will come out of it. I will go down another path, about which I am pondering and for which I am preparing myself. The greatest probability is that I will sign the law, but at the same time propose that the Federal Assembly amend it. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] I am not going to detain you any further, Mr. President, but one more final question: How do you feel in general?

[Havel] Werich [popular actor and playwright] said in one of his plays that he was fit physically. I can also say

about myself today that I am also physically fit, because I had my neck massaged yesterday, and this stopped regular headaches.

I have to admit, however, that psychologically I am not quite fit today. I am a bit depressed by the huge number of complicated matters with which I am having to deal with.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, thank you for the interview.

Dubcek Criticizes Law

LD1310184491 Prague CSTK in English 1628 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Bratislava Oct 13 (CSTK)—Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak parliament, told CSTK today the screening law of October 4 contradicts law and the principles of a law-abiding state.

Dubcek criticised the fact that the law affects a wide range of individuals.

Under it, barred from leading state posts until the end of 1996 will be collaborators with the former secret police (StB), persons who held leading posts in certain Communist Party bodies and members of the former people's militia (paramilitary force of the Communist Party).

Dubcek said it is absurd that under the law, barred from some posts will also be those who tried to revive the Czecho-Slovak society in 1968 (the Communist-led reform movement was crushed by a Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968) and who were persecuted throughout the following twenty years. This is not only incorrect, but also immoral, Dubcek said.

He noted that if the criteria approved by the Czechoslovak parliament were applied to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, whose policy also made possible the November 1989 revolution in Czechoslovakia, or to Boris Yeltsin, who marred the reactionary coup in the Soviet Union in August, they would no longer hold their posts.

5,600 Army Officers Affected

AU1310172591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 10 Oct 91 p 2

[CSTK report: "Screening Law: The Army's Scourge"]

[Text] Trencin— The visits by the chairman of the Slovak legislature and the Slovak prime minister to the Eastern Military District [on 9 and 7 October] are not connected with the tense political situation in the CSFR. "We felt the need to express our opinion on the enormous problems existing in the Army," said Frantisek Miklosko. He went on to say that a common Army, a common foreign policy, and a common currency ought to be retained in our state. Major General Jozef Tuchyna, commander of the Eastern Military District, commented on the screening law. In his opinion, the law applies to 5,600 persons; all Army members with the planned rank [s planovanou hodnosti] of colonel and general are subject to the law. F. Miklosko believes that the implementation of the screening law could activate forces that demand Slovakia's independence.

CSTK Roundup on Slovak Reaction

LD1210041991 Prague CSTK in English 1906 GMT 11 Oct 91

[By Anna Takacsova]

[Text] Bratislava Oct 11 (CSTK)—While Slovak Government coalition parties, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI) and the Democratic Party (DS) support the screening law, passed by the Czechoslovak parliament on October 4, representatives of most opposition parties object to it.

The law bans from public political and economic posts former paid Communist Party officials, members of its armed people's militia and people linked to the StB Secret Police.

The Public Against Violence (VPN) Movement, another government coalition member, has made no official statement yet but sources close to the VPN say it views it positively.

KDH General Secretary Jan Petrik rejected allegations that KDH deputies acted against their own government by voting for the screening law and its "severe" amendments. They did so as they have nothing to fear in the screening process, he added.

According to the DS vice-chairman, Peter Missik, the law should have been adopted long ago. The MNI thinks the law does not restrict citizens' activities in everyday life.

The opposition National Liberal Party (NL), seeking an independent, democratic and neutral Slovakia (not represented in the parliament), believes the law discriminates against nobody and is only the first step towards a purge of society, to be followed by another law after next year's elections, which is to apply to the deputies.

The strongest opposition movement, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), has been highly critical of the law as being based only on the presumption of guilt. HZDS Vice-Chairman Roman Hofbauer has said the screening process will affect the movement very little as each of the movement's leaders have been screened several times since last November.

The Democratic Left Party (SDL), the former Communist Party of Slovakia, says the law runs counter to Czechoslovakia's charter of human rights and liberties and discriminates against a large group of citizens, and the SDL will therefore work for its annulment.

Opposed to the law is also the Slovak National Unification Party (SNZS) as it thinks it should have required each candidate for a public post to produce also a certificate of a clean record in police files.

Chairman of the opposition Slovak National Unity Party (SNJ) Stanislav Panis thinks the law is "meaningless". He said "many files (on contacts with the StB Secret Police) are missing and this may serve as a reason for blackmail".

The Slovak Social Democrats are opposed to the law as they think it will destabilise the political scene. The law is likely to affect up to a million inhabitants of Czechoslovakia, they say, and expect President Vaclav Havel and Federal parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek will not sign it.

SNR Presidium Views Constitution, Setup Issues

AU1310205991 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Antonia Vymazalova, Martin Krno report: "Busy Legislative Scene"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Life was unusually busy in the Slovak legislature building yesterday—both the Slovak National Council [SNR] Presidium and SNR committees were in session. [passage omitted] The reason for this heightened activity? The deputies are pushed to it by the urgency of resolving the issue of Czechoslovakia's future setup.

The SNR Presidium invited the economic ministers of the Slovak Government to its discussion on the draft Slovak Republic constitution, because it wanted to prepare the draft from the viewpoint of the division of economic and socioeconomic powers. After the session, SNR Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac (Christian Democratic Movement) briefed journalists on the SNR Presidium's stand on the proposals submitted by members of the government. He said: "It was necessary to define powers—which of them should remain at the level of the republics and which at the level of the higher state entity. We proceeded from the need to define, first and foremost, individual problems, such as the meaning of common economic space. The Czech Republic understands by it a uniform Czechoslovak economic, social, and income policy, with strong powers for the Federal Government. The Slovak political representation respects Article 4 of the Constitution, which says that the CSFR economy is the integration of two national economies between which, naturally, no Chinese wall will be erected. There will be free movement of persons, capital, and goods between them, as is assumed in every normal market economy.

The session also dealt with the reasons that there is less foreign capital in Slovakia than in the Czech Republic. J. Klepac said that there were 3,400 joint ventures in the CSFR at the beginning of September, of which only 23 percent were on the territory of Slovakia. Why is this the case? One reason is the poorer language and management skills of our people. But an important factor accounting for less foreign capital in the Slovak Republic is that less information gets to Slovakia. Much of it remains in Prague. He cited, as an example, a Swiss Government delegation's talks in the capital about aid for the CSFR representing 800 million Swiss francs. No member of the Slovak Government participated in these talks. He noted that, prior to the meeting between the Presidiums of the two national legislatures on 22 and 23 October in Prague, representatives of the Czech and Slovak Governments will meet to discuss some power-sharing proposals.

Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Anton Vavro stressed: "If we want a common state, we must not seek solutions that will completely rule out a common state. For example, we must not contemplate having two banks of issue and full jurisdiction over the customs area. The proposal that we [presumably the Public Against Violence movement, which Vavro represents] submitted goes to the very limits as regards the budget, currency, and some social security issues. Beyond that limit, it is pointless to speak about a common state."

The SNR Presidium took note of the resignation of Michal Geci (Democratic Party) from the post of SNR deputy. It called the 18th SNR meeting for 4 November 1991.

SFRY Offers Guarantees on Troop Withdrawal

LD1210004691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2300 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia today offered to Hungary guarantees that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units withdrawing from Slovenia with their armaments will not be used in clashes in Yugoslavia if allowed to cross Hungarian territory.

A note of this content was handed by Yugoslav Ambassador Rudi Sova to Deputy State Secretary in the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Imre Szokai at the Ministry this afternoon.

The Hungarian Government yesterday refused to grant a request of the Yugoslav side and allow the use of its territory by the YPA members pulling out of Slovenia. The refusal was motivated by an earlier UN Security Council decision banning the arms deliveries to Yugoslavia.

The Hungarian Government did not explain how the Council decision can be applied to the case in point.

In another development, the authorities have announced that a note of protest against an alleged violation of Hungarian air space was handed to the Yugoslav military attache in Budapest, Lt. Col. Jusuf Banjica. The note claims that a low-flying Yugoslav Air Force helicopter entered 15 km deep into Hungary's air space in the area of Bacsborsod yesterday.

Foreign Ministry Responds

LD1210151691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Excerpts] Yugoslavia has offered guarantees to Hungary that it will not deploy in battle those armed units that it would like to withdraw from Slovenia through Hungary. This has been reported by the TANJUG news agency, claiming that the Yugoslav ambassador to Budapest has submitted a diplomatic note to the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. TANJUG gave no source for the news. As we have already reported, the Hungarian Government, referring to the UN Security Council arms embargo, rejected the Yugoslav request on 9 October. TANJUG remarks that it is difficult to find any link between the transit of the troops and the arms embargo. [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs spokesman Janos Herman speaks about the view of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with regard to the latest developments:

[Begin Herman recording] Imre Szokai, deputy state secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received Friday afternoon the Yugoslav ambassador to Budapest, at the envoy's request—who by the way, in the knowledge of the negative reply of the Hugnarian Government on Thursday—submitted a diplomatic note related to the previous Yugoslav request vis-a-vis the arms transit issue. I can add that the Government made its decision after a circumspect consideration of all points of view.

We are studying the current note from the viewpoint of whether it may contain such elements that would make it necessary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to reconsider the issue.

[Correspondent] Does the note contain such elements?

[Herman] I cannot yet reply to that.

[Correspondent] Nor can you reply, perhaps, as to what kind of guarantees this note contains?

[Herman] I cannot yet reply to that either. [end recording]

Troop Transit Denial Examined

AU1510090591 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Oct 91 p 3

[Report by Csilla Medgyessi: "Expert Views Hungarian Decision—It Would Have Presented No Direct Threat"]

[Text] Bearing in mind, among other things, the UN Security Council resolution on an arms embargo, the Hungarian Government declined the Yugoslav request to allow trains carrying arms and equipment of the Yugoslav Federal Army to pass through Hungary.

MAGYAR HIRLAP asked retired colonel Peter Deak, one of the heads of the Security Policy and Defense Research Center, to comment on the military background of this decision.

According to Peter Deak, the government had to examine several factors before coming to a decision. One of the most important questions was whether the transport of the Yugoslav Army through Hungarian territory would have threatened Hungarian security. It is a fact that the presence of foreign troops on Hungary's territory symbolically curtails Hungary's sovereignty, but it is also a fact that the crossing of a few military convoys does not mean a direct danger. Only deliberate provocations, escape, or accidents could have caused a threat.

According to Peter Deak, the Hungarian military bodies responsible for transportation are very well trained and would have been able to manage the crossing of Yugoslav troops through Hungary by fulfilling police tasks along the route. We should have demanded that the Yugoslav Army observe Hungarian military transportation rules and that Hungarians commanders regulate the crossing maneuvers, as well as that the arms and the personnel travel on separate trains for security reasons. In addition, we should have demanded that the Yugoslav side ensure the full supply of the troops with food, and that they reimburse us for all expenses.

Prior to the decision, the government probably also had to examine the possible traffic disturbances and problems caused by these Yugoslav transports, and there would have been about three to five trains, depending on

the number of heavy weapons. In addition, as the earliest possible solution of the Yugoslav crisis is also a matter of European and world interest, we would have definitely asked for international supervision for the transport. The UN observers active on the territory of our southern neighbor could also have supervised the transportation of these troops through Hungary.

The withdrawal of Yugoslav troops from Slovenia through Hungary would also have had positive consequences for Hungarian security: On the one hand, tension would have decreased in Slovenia because the last Yugoslav troops, about the size of a brigade—some 2,700 soldiers and 100-200 tanks—would have been withdrawn from Slovenia and, on the other hand, there would have been no Yugoslav troops left at Croatia's Western borders; these troops would not have rattled through Croatia, and they would definitely not have been deployed against Croatians.

According to Peter Deak, under such circumstances, it is difficult to explain the reasons behind the Slovenian and Croatian opposition; one can only assume that this must have been a problem connected with their international recognition.

Asked about Hungary's task now after rejecting the request, Peter Deak said that, in his opinion, we should first of all present the Hungarian position clearly and in detail to the Hungarian, Yugoslav, and international public. In addition, the Hungarian Government could also make proposals to the Yugoslavs on alternative routes of withdrawing their troops from Slovenia.

New Airspace Violation Reported

LD1110212191 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—A low-flying Yugoslav helicopter penetrated Hungarian airspace about 15 kms deep near Bacsborsod yesterday. Yugoslavia admitted to the violation, a Hungarian Defence Ministry offical told MTI today.

"Having to face all the consequences" are in store for Yugoslavia if similar things happen again, the Ministry officials warned the Yugoslav military and air attache.

The attache had been summoned to the Hungarian Defence Ministry to listen to Hungarian protests against the violation.

Romanian, Yugoslav Border Situations Examined

LD1310191191 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 13 (MTI)—Nearly 25 per cent of the 4,616 people wanting to travel from Hungary to Romania over the past 24 hours have been turned back by the Romanian Border Guard referring to the lack of the necessary amount of currency, that of the international insurance card or to the insufficient technical and aesthetic conditions of their vehicles, deputy spokesman of the Hungarian border guard Attila Krisan told MTI today.

No military operations have been observed by the Hungarian Border Guard near the Hungarian-Yugoslav border over the past day, Krisan said, adding that six Yugoslav citizens have asked for temporary refuge in Hungary over the period in question, while 33 of those taking refuge in the country earlier, have returned to Yugoslavia.

312 Hungarian citizens were ordered off the Balkan express by the Yugoslav Border Guard on Saturday due to the lack of the required amount of currency.

6,611 citizens from 16 countries have been barred from entering Hungary by the Hungarian Border Guard over the past 24 hours, Krisan said.

Romania Tightens Entry Conditions Along Border

LD1210060491 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—As of midnight on Friday, the conditions of entry to Romania for Hungarian citizens will be considerably tightened by the Romanian authorities, Janos Zubek, spokesman for the Hungarian Border Guard, told MTI's correspondent.

Zubek said that according to Romanian information, the most important condition of entry is the possession of convertible currency the equivalent of 15 dollars a day. If the border is crossed by car, the vehicle should comply with the technical requirements, and be insured, with the owner inside, because hired/borrowed cars will not be allowed to enter the country.

The restrictions do not apply to diplomats, those travelling on official errands, for cultural and sports events, or medical treatment to Romania. Transit passengers will have to prove that they are passing through.

Joint Statement Issued With CSFR on Gabcikovo

AU1410095591 Budapest MTI in English 2024 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—For step forward on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric dam issue, Hungarian and Czechoslovak Governments should start negotiations immediately, a joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak statement called today.

The statement was issued jointly by the Environmental Protection Committee of the Hungarian Parliament and an environmental protection delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, after talks in Budapest.

The document calls to create an expert committee for examining all realistic solutions for the problem. The individual solutions will have to be analysed regarding

ecological aspects, economic, social, flood-prevention, navigation consequences, and aspects of international law.

Participating in the cooperation will be the two countries' scientific institutions that are not directly related to the construction of the dam.

Antall Interviewed on Central European Issues

AU1310203091 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by Grzegorz Lubczyk; place and date not given: "What We Are Doing Makes Sense"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Lubczyk] Mr. Prime Minister, it seems that unless a customs-free zone is introduced in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, cooperation between these countries will constantly run into difficulties, even with the best of intentions, and that the practical introduction of market mechanisms will be impossible. I think the introduction of such a zone should be a basic goal of economic strategy. Do you think we will ever become another Benelux?

[Antall] Right now, it is impossible to implement that objective because there are differences in the economic development of each country, and the financial situation in each of them is also different. My reply is harsh, but nevertheless realistic. However, once the neglect in various spheres and at various levels has been made good, and I believe it will be, the objective should once again appear on the agenda. Our countries' association with the EC, followed by normal membership therein, will certainly bring us closer to that objective. [passage omitted]

[Lubczyk] The Krakow summit is behind us. At the Visegrad summit, did you imagine that cooperation between the three countries would develop so quickly?

[Antall] In Visegrad, we decided we would convene in Krakow in the autumn. That decision was a mere formality, because we already had confidence in each other then, and we knew that what we were undertaking made sense.

The second reason for the closer contacts between us are the changes that have occurred in our region. The Warsaw Pact and CEMA were finally abolished in Visegrad and were not replaced by anything new. The talks that proceeded this event brought us together. They were more significant than the Warsaw Pact funeral itself.

Third, we were supposed to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Union after Romania had already done so. The Soviet Union suggested the infamous security clause, which none of our three countries were willing to accept because it might have interfered with our joining other European organizations in the future, to say nothing of the fact that it would have limited our sovereignty.

The fourth reason is the pullout of Soviet forces from our region. They have already left Czechoslovakia and Hungary, although there are still financial matters to settle. Not all the Soviet forces in Poland have left yet, because of the continued presence of these forces in the eastern part of Germany. All this is our European environment, a system of links originating in the decades gone by.

Another significant reason for the rapid rapprochement between our three countries is the fact that parliamentary traditions in them are stronger than in the remaining postcommunist countries. The democratic opposition movements in our countries have also had a different set of problems than in the other countries. Thus, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia have become leaders in the march from East to West, and not just because of their geographical situation.

In addition, our countries are ahead of the others as far as political systems are concerned. One illustration of that is our relatively early acceptance into the Council of Europe. As soon as Hungary was accepted as a member, we immediately asked about Poland and Czechoslovakia also being accepted. So from the very beginning, we made efforts to turn the Pentagonale into a Hexagonale, which it became once Poland had joined.

[Lubczyk] So you are convinced that the three countries are on the right path.

[Antall] Of course. I have presented, in a greatly abridged form, the background and purpose of the Visegrad accord. I would like to repeat what I have already said many times, that the Visegrad triangle is not directed against anyone. It is there to help others. We cooperate with each other in those spheres where we see the need to do so.

I think the triangle is a transitional stage on the road to European integration, to be attained by implementing joint objectives and plans.

Growth of Foreign Capital Investment Reported

LD1110133791 Budapest MTI in English 1115 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—In the first eight months of the year, the value of foreign cash capital invested in Hungary totalled USD 750 million, and the amount is expected to reach USD 1.3 billion this year.

The State Assets Agency intends to publish the amount of foreign capital invested in cash in Hungary each month, said Government Councillor Bertalan Diczhazi, a member of the board of the State Assets Agency, in an interview with MTI on Friday.

According to the latest figures, working capital of USD 110 million arrived in cash in Hungary in August.

Foreign capital invested in the form of machines, installations and technology, is also considerable.

"A further growth in foreign capital investments is an indispensable condition for the country's development. A pragmatic and simplified privatization procedure and home political stability are needed to acheive this," the government councillor said.

National Bank Sees Positive Economic Indicators

AU1110125391 Budapest MTI in English 1956 GMT 8 Oct 91

[Text] Budapest, October 8 (MTI)—Hungary's economic indicators are expected to mark a favourable development by the end of 1991, as compared to last year's forecasts, President of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) Gyorgy Suranyi said at a press briefing here today.

At present, the current account shows a 200-million-dollar surplus, and it is expected to be balanced by the end of the year. Forecasts indicated a 1.2-billion-dollar deficit. Currency reserves of Hungary reached 2.5-2.6 billion dollars so far in 1991.

The net debts of Hungary will be 1.5 billion dollars less than a year earlier, at current rates. Gross debts stand at a level similar to that four years ago. The debt servicing rate can fall under 40 percent by the end of 1991, as opposed to 70 percent in 1987. Interests due to be paid this year can reach 1.3-1.4 billion dollars, 4 percent of the country's GDP. Inflation rate is expected to be 32-33 percent by the end of the year, Suranyi said.

Hungarian exports in the first nine months of 1991 have exceeded last year's level by 30 percent, despite the collapse of Eastern European markets and the dollarization of trade. According to Suranyi, the bank of issue will have to continue its restrictive monetary policies.

Speaking about the law on the bank of issue, Suranyi said the draft submitted originally can prevent the bank from being obliged to finance deficits of the state budget. In NBH leaders' opinion, there are chances that the Hungarian parliament will pass a law guaranteeing the independence of the bank.

Government Decrees Stiffen Employment Regulations

LD1210105891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Report by correspondent Gabor Bankuti on a news conference by an unidentified government spokesman with unidentified correspondents in Budapest on 11 October]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The government, by amending a decree, has stiffened control over employment affairs. In a decree, the labor minister has tied the employment of foreigners in Hungary to permits. Minister Gyula Kiss said that such a permit must be asked for by the employer from a county's labor exchange, but he can obtain this only if no Hungarian seeks that job in the county. An employment visa [munkavallaloi vizum] may be applied for at Hungarian consulates only in the possession of a permit, according to the new decree of the Interior Ministry. Employers taking on a foreign worker without a permit must pay twice the amount of the wage into the employment fund. Another decree was issued that, from next year, forbids selling or providing services for hard currrency in home trade and the service sector, with the exception of shops for diplomats, waiting areas for transit passengers, and the services ordered from abroad. By the way, free import makes this redundant anyway. [passage omitted]

Committee Urges Party Consensus on Arms Trade

AU1010170391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 91 p 4

["Zs. A."-signed report: "Following the Kalashnikov Affair—Multiparty Consensus on Arms Trade"]

[Text] Having learned our lesson from previous examples, we should definitely regulate our arms trade at a legislative level—this is what Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] representatives Imre Mecs and Andras Nagy recently suggested. On 2 October, the National Assembly's Defense Committee agreed to this proposal, and Colonel Laszlo Kocsis, who was also present at the committee meeting (Kocsis is the secretary of the relevant interministerial committee), announced that preparations for the drafting of regulations had been initiated and that the National Assembly would probably be able to discuss the plan during the first months of 1992. We asked Andras Nagy about the reasons behind the proposal. Nagy told us:

"Unlike Western European states, Hungary is practically the only country to regulate its arms trade at a government decree level. Consequently, the government can deal with these issues within the scope of its own jurisdiction. A political storm can easily arise in case of a mistake—and there have been examples of this—and this is harmful not only to our political parties, but also to our country's image and credibility. We feel the need to raise our voices at this stage because, even though the government subsequently recognized its responsibility in the Kalashnikov affair, it then modified the relevant decree to suit its own purposes. I have to stress once again that the arms trade is a politically sensitive issue that should be regulated with utmost caution and on the basis of a multiparty consensus. That is why we propose to replace the decree solution with a regulation established at the legislative level."

Walesa Calls For Open Borders With Belorussia

LD1210014691 Warsaw PAP in English 2301 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 11—President Lech Walesa received visiting Prime Minister of Belorussia Vyacheslav Kebich on Friday to discuss trade and economic cooperation, and problems of Polish and Belorussian minorities in the respective countries.

"We will not carry either Belorussia or Poland to America and that is why we must think over how to have good relations in this situation. Today, we must be open to each other, the borders should be penetrable and wide open and the rest will be done by business. I must say that I count on big business to be done between both sides. After all, nobody will help us unless we help each other," the president said welcoming the guest.

Agreeing with the president's remarks, Premier Kebich proposed the president to hold a meeting to discuss all these and other issues somewhere in the region of the Bialowieska forest.

Earlier today, Premier Kebich met with representatives of the 300,000-strong Belorussian minority in Poland who briefed the premier on their situation and on activities of Belorussian organizations functioning in Poland.

Part of the Belorussian delegation, including representatives of the Committee for Foreign Economic Cooperation and of Belorussian banks, met with Secretary of State at the Presidential Chancellory Slawomir Siwek who outlined a plan of setting up economic development regions in Poland's eastern provinces where cooperation with Belorussia would play a major role.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Soviet Treaty Issues

AU1110163591 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Oct 91 pp 1, 5

[Report by Stanislaw Popowski from Moscow: "An Open Road"]

[Text] The road to the signing of the Polish-Soviet treaty has been opened. The treaty is ready to be initialed.

Polish Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk told Polish journalists here after his talks with Soviet Foreign Ministry representatives: "When these talks with the Soviet side commenced, we established two objectives—the retention of complete sovereignty and the cultivation of the best possible mutual relations with our eastern neighbor. At the time, some people claimed these two objectives were mutually contradictory. But they were not contradictory when E. Shevardnadze was foreign minister. They only appeared contradictory later on, during the putsch. The situation now is very different. It turns out that good results can be achieved by means of patient talks, which have brought about the realization that cooperation with a Western neighbor is the only possible type of advantageous cooperation for the Soviet Union.

"I can now say that we have completed negotiations on a Polish-Soviet treaty of friendship and good-neighborliness. All four of the thorny issues have been resolved, and the treaty is ready to be placed before the supreme authorities of both countries for their approval. As far as the so-called security clause is concerned, which the Soviet side has been arguing about since Shevardnadze's resignation and about which it has made retrogressive proposals that contradict the treaty's future-orientated character, all the problems have been resolved. The security points in the treaty fully conform to international legal standards, both with respect to the United Nations and the CSCE. In this sense, we have the best and most modern treaty, designed for future European cooperation. The treaty could be initialed before the end of the month during Soviet Foreign Minister Boris Pankin's planned visit to Warsaw.

"The second group of problems on which the conclusion of this treaty is conditional is the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland. There have already been 12 rounds of talks on this subject. There were times when it seemed it would be very difficult to reach an agreement, but now there is reason to believe that every single Soviet combat unit will withdraw by the end of next year. This will probably be finally agreed upon during the final round of Polish-Soviet talks in Moscow, so that it will be possible to initial at least the political part of the treaty dealing with the pullout of the Soviet forces stationed in Poland and with the transit through Poland of the Soviet forces leaving Germany."

Asked when President Lech Walesa will visit the USSR, J. Makarczyk replied: "The president has been saying for a long time that he wants to visit the USSR, but he has made it clear that, first of all, the question of the withdrawal of Soviet forces must be resolved and the Polish-Soviet treaty initialed. His visit only makes sense if it opens a new stage of Polish-Soviet relations. The Polish and Soviet presidents should not discuss the past but should discuss the future."

J. Makarczyk also said that the treaty on cooperation and good- neighborliness will be signed by both presidents, but the treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet forces will be signed by the foreign ministers.

Asked about Polish-Soviet relations, he stressed that Poland was the first country to begin to pursue a "two-level" policy toward the USSR and its republics, and that even the Russians themselves considered the Polish-Russian treaty exemplary. Now there is talk of going one step further and concluding a normal treaty with Russia, just like the one with the Ukraine and Belorussia.

Asked whether the thorny issues had been deleted from the treaty, J. Makarczyk stressed that everything involving a "satellite" dependency has been removed.

"The treaty contains nothing that would in any way limit Poland's sovereignty," he said.

Ministry Demands Safety for Poles Visiting FRG

LD1510021991 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—In connection with the recent increase in attacks on Polish citizens travelling via Germany, Under-Secretary of State at the Polish Foreign Ministry Iwo Byczewski had talks Monday with German Charge d'Affaires in Poland Wolf Dietrich Vogel, the Foreign Ministry's press and information department reported.

Byczewski acquainted his interlocutor with reports by Polish border guards and by Poles harmed by attacks launched on them by groups of hooligans. He stressed that from the beginning of introducing the visa-free traffic between Poland and Germany Polish citizens travelling via Germany were in danger.

He said that every time German order enforcing units did not respond to attacks on Polish citizens, this could lead to the growing sense of safety of the attackers and their aggressiveness. Byczewski demanded that German police take effective preventive measures to ensure safety to Polish citizens travelling via Germany.

Vogel said that the incidents that had taken place were of criminal rather than of political nature. He assured Byczewski that competent German authorities and the police would examine all cases under discussion and would be willing to take all steps to guarantee safety to Polish citizens visiting Germany.

National Bank Revises Exchange Rate Method

LD1410213191 Warsaw PAP in English 2049 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 13—The National Bank of Poland (NBP) decided to change the value of currency basket as of October 14 raising it about 9 zlotys a day, not more however than 1.8 per cent a month.

Exchange rates of foreign currencies against the Polish zloty will be changed according to the changing value of the currency basket and quotations of individual currencies on international currency market.

The change is aimed to ensure the profitability of Polish exports and, indirectly, to protect home producers against foreign competition, NBP spokesman Tomasz Uchman said.

NBP Move 'Indispensable'

LD1510015991 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—Commenting on the Sunday decision of the National Bank of Poland (NBP) to change rules of calculating exchange rates, Ryszard Michalski of the Finance Ministry said on Monday that the move was indispensable as it led to a controlled devaluation of the Polish zloty, needed to make the relation between the Polish and foreign currencies real.

"It is a temporary solution," he added, "aimed at creating an exchange market in Poland. This will be a market for banks and operations on it will define current exchange. We want to achieve this in the first months of next year."

Michalski also said that another change in the currency basket was inevitable in view of Poland's planned association with EC. "We must move closer to the European monetary system based on ECU," he said.

Sejm Adopts Rules on Privatizing Church Property

LD1210075191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The Sejm has amended the act on the state's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. In accordance with the act, until the end of next year, the Roman Catholic church is entitled to make property claims. The Roman Catholic church is entitled to all the cemeteries on territories that had earlier belonged to it. It is also entitled to claim the right of land ownership in Warsaw. So far it has only had use of the land in perpetuity. In the western and northern territories, arable land may be handed over to the Roman Catholic church free of charge. Parishes may get up to 15 hectares and dioceses and religious orders up to 50 hectares. Decisions in these matters will be made by the voivodas. Should the land belong to other real or legal persons, the handover will take place with the consent of these persons.

[Sejm Deputy] Barbara Labuda said that, once the act is adopted, dioceses, seminaries, and orders will take over buildings that frequently house hospitals, nurseries, and children's homes.

[Begin Labuda recording] All this means that an enormous amount of property, which currently is in the hands of a state that is very poor, will be handed over for good and for free. [end recording]

According to Barbara Labuda, the passing of the special act on the Roman Catholic church creates a division into those equal and more equal in the eyes of the law. According to [Deputy] Anna Dynowska, the act provides for full reprivatization of Roman Catholic church property. In her opinion, the introduction of the act will have very serious financial consequences. [Deputy] Jan Lopuszanski believes that the adoption of the act means making good for all the wrongdoings against the Roman Catholic church. [passage omitted]

The dilemma faced by the deputies was whether to pass a special act on the Roman Catholic church, which will result in the reprivatization of Roman Catholic church property, or whether to solve the problem by passing a reprivatization act concerning all legal subjects. The

deputies chose the first solution: 116 deputies voted for adopting the act, 107 voted against, and 32 abstained.

Center Alliance Leader on 'Decommunization' Process

LD1310183691 Warsaw PAP in English 1708 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Bielsko-Biala, Oct. 13—Leader of the Centre Alliance (PC), Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that decommunization is not a process aimed at infringing the rights of about three million former members of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP).

Kaczynski told a campaign meeting in Bielsko-Biala, southern Poland on Sunday, added that "if someone is stating that the PC wants to strike against former (PUWP) members, he lies. We want to change the structure, that is we will do everything to oust communists from those places where they represent a majority, where they continue to play a dominant role."

In the opinion of the senator communists are especially visible in military special services, public prosecutors' offices and in "nomenklatura" companies.

The PC leader told the gathering that his party defends the role of church in daily life and that questioning of the role of the church leads to deep moral crisis in the society.

Referring to economic problems, Kaczynski rejected the Balcerowicz economic policy saying that the PC has a rescue programme of its own, focusing on restructuring and quick privatization.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Elections, Performance

AU1310154991 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 7 Oct 91 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Union Chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Janusz B. Grochowski; place and date not given: "A Break Half Way Through"]

[Excerpts] [Grochowski] You once suggested the conclusion of a "pact for Poland," which was interpreted as an attempt to create something like the old Front for National Unity.

[Mazowiecki] That is not what I meant. Because this idea was put forward by just one party, the other parties thought the party in question was merely concerned about its own interests, and not Poland's welfare. Needless to say, the idea will return—if not now, then after the elections—because it is essential to establish some kind of consensus to solve existing problems. Social problems must be solved by means of negotiations.

[Grochowski] Most of the troubles today are economic. Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz is being blamed for them. And yet you appointed him. Do you, therefore, feel partly responsible for the difficulties?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, because the economic program was formulated by my government. Nevertheless, I think the criticism of my government is biased. Do people want the program to be abandoned, or merely adjusted? I think it requires a fundamental adjustment, and we would certainly have adjusted it if we had remained in power.

[Grochowski] How would you have adjusted it?

[Mazowiecki] I realize this is not easy, but there must be a campaign of premeditated activity to revive the economy, and not just a series of enforced actions. One must remember that privatization, even on a broad scale, does not provide results overnight. Privatized enterprises require reorganization, and that takes time. Apart from that, a considerable number of state enterprises will continue in business, and those capable of competition should be assured of better conditions for functioning. Most of all, it is essential to abolish the three-pronged managerial structure in enterprises. It is the director alone who is responsible for the enterprise, not the trade union or workers council, and profits are the chief criterion for assessing economic performance. I also see the possibility of abolishing the tax on supernumerary income, but there must be other ways of stopping an excessive influx of money. Finally, the debts of those enterprises that present viable recovery programs could be waived. [passage omitted]

[Grochowski] You have tasted the sweet and the bitter taste of authority. If someone offered you the post of prime minister again, would you take it?

[Mazowiecki] The situation now is different, but do you know that when I left the post I felt, and still feel, that I have only traveled half the road, so I do not rule out the possibility of accepting.

[Grochowski] But right now you are running for Parliament. You did not do so two years ago. What made you change your mind this time? Is it because you finally wanted to be able to speak your mind freely?

[Mazowiecki] No. Two years ago, a certain philosophy was adopted that I did not consider quite correct. But this time, I am the head of a powerful party, the Democratic Union, and I think I cannot possibly avoid putting myself to the test in the form of an election. In addition, the new Sejm will be a very important one, if only because it will adopt a new constitution.

Bielecki Tops Poll on Future Prime Minister

AU1310183891 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Oct 91 p 15

[Piotr Pacewicz report: "The Prime Minister for Prime Minister"]

[Text] In a poll commissioned by GAZETA from the Sopot-based Social Research Workshop entitled "Electing a Prime Minister," Jan Krzysztof Bielecki was the

clear winner (over 16 percent), beating the two Democratic Union leaders: Jacek Kuron—11.7 percent and Tadeusz Mazowiecki—10.6 percent. Fourth was Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who has served as a minister in both "Solidarity" governments—9 percent, followed by Stanislaw Tyminski, the Party "X" leader, who obtained 5.7 percent. Almost one fifth of those polled (18.8 percent) were unable to suggest an appropriate candidate for the post of prime minister, and one tenth (9.3 percent) said that the prime minister should be "someone completely new." Outside the top ten were: Andrzej Stelmachowski and Jan Olszewski, who each obtained 1.5 percent; Jaroslaw Kaczynski and Janusz Rewinski, who each obtained 1.3 percent; Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, who got 0.9 percent; and Marian Krzaklewski, who got 0.5 percent.

The nationwide poll of 1,000 persons conducted on 28-29 September yielded results that were strikingly similar to those obtained in a poll conducted for ZYCIE WARSZAWY by the CBOS [Center for Public Opinion Research] one week earlier. Bielecki also "won" that poll, with 12 percent, which placed him ahead of a trio made up of Skubiszewski, Mazowiecki, and Kuron, who each obtained 7 percent.

Leszek Balcerowicz fared worse in our poll (in the CBOS poll he came fifth with 5 percent), which might be connected with the fact that he has not been saying anything recently. On the other hand, Stanislaw Tyminski's rating has improved (in the CBOS poll he was ninth and had barely 2 percent), which is probably the result of part of the electorate considering the decision to exclude Party "X" to be unfair.

Jan Krzysztof Bielecki's candidacy was primarily supported by college (30 percent) and high school (19 percent) graduates of all ages. The lowest level of support for him came from people who had attended vocational schools.

So, the liberal prime minister is not popular among workers (especially unskilled workers—3 percent) and farmers. On the other hand, he has the support of managerial personnel (27 percent), businessmen (18 percent), and housewives (20 percent). The prime minister remains the Liberal-Democratic Congress's main trump card. Will he agree to appear on "Election Studio"?

Jacek Kuron, as a candidate for prime minister, has the support of older people above all (22 percent of those over 60 who were polled, compared to only 3 percent of those under the age of 24). He is also the strongest candidate among unskilled workers (13 percent) and—what is interesting—among farmers (19 percent). Kuron has held on to his image as the defender of the weak.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki remains the typical intelligentsia candidate. He is supported by 17 percent of college graduates (and 23 percent of managerial personnel) and by only 7 percent of those with no more than an elementary school education (and barely 5 percent of farmers).

It cannot be ruled out that the high level of support the Democratic Union obtains in opinion polls is due to the fact that its two leaders "pull" different electorates. The union should work on strengthening the Union-Kuron-Mazowiecki association.

Krzysztof Skubiszewski is a popular candidate among high school graduates (only coming second to Bielecki) and also enjoys strong support among enterprises (16 percent). Leszek Moczulski, the leader of the Confederation of an Independent Poland, has a stable position, but one that is not all that strong. His support comes mainly from younger voters. Thus, the results of the poll would confirm forecasts that the Confederation for an Independent Poland will enter the Sejm.

The pattern that support for Stanislaw Tyminski takes is exceptionally clear: His support declines the older the respondents are and is strongest among the youngest voters. Another interesting point is that Stanislaw Tyminski would win in the "electing a prime minister" poll among skilled workers (10 percent). However, if one is to believe the results of the poll, he has lost the support of the peasants. So, as we can see, Stan remains the leader of groups that are in revolt—groups that are not able to develop and who have borne the brunt of the price to be paid for reform—but support for him seems to be waning.

Center Accord candidates did not fare well. That was true of both Jan Olszewski, whom the Center Accord is promoting, and its leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski. This confirms once again that the grouping should not bank on its leaders, but should tend to keep them in the background. However, the Center Accord's election chances are better than the results obtained by its leaders suggest, because voters will only know the party's name and not the names of its leaders.

FSN Issues Proposals for New Government

AU1510093091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0804 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/10/1991—Last night [14 October], at the Chamber of Deputies, the national leader of the National Salvation Front [FSN] Petre Roman met with the majority group to finalize the options for the new government. Participating will be: the National Salvation Front, the Ecology Movement of Romania and the National Liberal Party—political parties assuming the responsibility of governing during this difficult period—alongside a number of independents. "AZI" daily, the FSN press organ, announces in its today's issue that the following will be submitted to the vote of the parliamentarians:

Prime minister—Theodor Stolojan
Minister of foreign affairs—Adrian Nastase
Minister of national defence—Niculae Spiroiu
Minister of economy and finance—George Danielescu
Minister of the interior—Victor Babiuc
Minister of justice—Mircea Ionescu-Quintus
Minister of industry—Dan Constantinescu
Minister of trade and tourism—Constantin Fota
Minister of agriculture and food—Petre Marculescu
Minister of communcations—Andrei Chirica
Minister of transport—Traian Basescu
Minister of education and science—Mihai Golu
Minister of environment—Marcian Bleahu
Minister of culture—Eugen Simion
Minister of health—Mircea Maiorescu
Minister of labor and social protection—Mircea Dan Popescu
Minister of youth affairs and sport—Ioan Moldovan
Minister of public works—Dan Nicolae
Minister for relations with Parliament—Ion Aurel Stoica
Minister of budget—Florian Bercea
Secretary of state at the Ministry of Education and Science—Emil Tokacs

Iliescu Discusses Formula for New Cabinet

AU1510110091 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 12 Oct 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Horia Alexandrescu and Rodica Avram; place and date not given: "There Is a Single Pace for the Reform, the One Permitted by Life"]

[Text] [CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, it has already been announced that the presentation of the new government will take place at the beginning of next week. However, there are signs that that will not be possible. What is your view on this?

[Iliescu] I am optimistic, and I believe that, after the discussion on 9 October, a platform has been created for a more realistic approach to the claims of all sides.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Realistic in what sense and on whose part?!

[Iliescu] Let us proceed from the fact that the most difficult decision had to be made by the National Salvation Front [FSN], considering that it is the party that represents the majority in Parliament and that, as far as the new government is concerned, it is going through feelings of frustration. Well, The Front's leadership took this step, but some of the claims by other parties were shocking. However, as I said, the consultations on Wednesday created preconditions for overcoming this deadlock. I believe that an agreement will be achieved when the nominees for the Stolojan Government are discussed.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] So you think that the FSN has made the most difficult decision. Are you referring to the "independent" at the head of the government, or to the distribution of the portfolios?

[Iliescu] The most difficult problem, as I said, was to accept an independent figure for the position of prime minister. We should not forget that the ruling party had to cope with a state of apprehension, which is natural under such circumstances, coupled also with a certain internal tension among the ranks of the parliamentary groups and among those of the Front. Thus, accepting an independent, and even proposing him, proved the Front's maturity and understanding. As far as the actual structure of the government is concerned, I believe that the necessary solutions will be found to ensure the desired opening.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] In the past few days, it has been implied that the prime minister designate, Mr. Theodor Stolojan, could be guided "from behind" by Mr. Petre Roman, maybe because the former prime minister said that he himself was the one who "found" Mr. Stolojan and promoted him to the government. Do you think that such "guiding" is possible?

[Iliescu] True, there has been considerable speculation in this direction, but I believe that Mr. Roman wanted to emphasize something completely different, namely that the prime minister designate will continue the reform for the very reason that—being a member of the former government—he is a convinced advocate of it. As a matter of fact, Mr. Stolojan's acceptance by absolutely all the other parties is explained precisely by the fact that he is seen as a guarantor of the reform and of its continuation.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] There is a lot of talk about the pace of the reform, of which there are about three: Mr. Roman's pace; the second is a faster pace that has already been demanded by a few groups in order to reach the third one, so to speak, which may be called the temporary one. In your view, which of these paces will the Stolojan government adopt?

[Iliescu] You see, I think that there is only one pace: the one permitted by life, by domestic and foreign resources, and by the acceptance of the population. No government can rule without this! This is why I believe that Mr. Stolojan will not think so much of the pace of the reform as of placing the reform on a realistic basis! Thus, I

believe that the new prime minister will not concern himself with political speculation regarding the reform. He is a realistic and practical man, an economist. That is why I said that his selection is preferable, that a man like Stolojan is ideal for this period, because I see in him an economist who is able to deal with concrete matters.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What chances do you give the Stolojan government on solving our great social discontent?

[Iliescu] His mission will be difficult—on the one hand, because he has just a short period at his disposal; on the other hand, because we are going through a difficult economic stage, intensified by the approaching winter. Usually, winter is difficult in our country because, you see, whereas in the summer people solve their problems with... melons, the problem of supplies is much more difficult in the winter and, in addition, there are the complicated problems of ensuring energy.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Mr. President, the idea of a split within the Front into conservatives and reformists is being circulated excessively; it is said that the conservatives are on your side. What is your view on this assertion?

[Iliescu] This formation was born at a given moment in history, and it presented itself with a less thoroughly formulated platform at that time, something that was actually to its advantage because it was thereby able to rally very broad circles of the population. Now, I think that, in an effort to better formulate its programmatic structure and the Front's political activity, there was too much speculation about certain show elements and labeling, to the detriment of the internal balance of this group. Thus, certain conflicts that naturally exist in any political formation, especially such a formation of broad opening as the Front desired, would have stifled such extremist tendencies that, as you see, harm this group, its organizational and political consolidation, and its platform and wide ability to communicate with those who represented the base of the electorate. This habit of superideologizing—which is also a vestige of the past—did nothing but intensify conflicts that tried, by all possible means, to split the Front into advocates and opponents of the reform. This seems to me completely wrong, because all people of good faith understand that things cannot progress without change, without renewing Romanian society, and they understand that a return is not possible and that the changes are absolutely irreversible. One should proceed from this platform; this applies to all groups, and all the more to a formation that wants to be the promoter of such an opening out.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Do you believe the idea of a counteroffensive launched by the former communists?

[Iliescu] It seems to me that we are talking here of an exaggeration, especially since, up to now, no elements have been found to confirm it. It is true, however, that during such times of tension there are usually political groups that try to capitalize on the situation.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] In your view, could it be possible that foreign forces were behind the miners' actions?

[Iliescu] I do not think so. And this is also an exaggeration.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Do you believe in the "Voican scenario?"

[Iliescu] It is very doubtful. I showed great reticence from the very beginning, especially because Mr. Voican has a tendency toward spectacular actions.

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] What do you know about "the blacklists?"

[Iliescu] Honestly speaking, I did not pay attention to such lists, although I understand that my name was included in one of them. However, I thought it was not important to find out whose lists they are, who made them up, and for what purpose....

[CURIERUL NATIONAL] Thank you, Mr. President, for your kindness in granting us this interview.

[Iliescu] I also want to express thanks to you; I appreciate the correct and impartial line taken by CURIERUL NATIONAL, which respects the informative mission of a newspaper.

UDMR Demands Ministry for Minority Affairs

LD1210140691 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] Talks continue in Romania on forming the new government, talks that have been unsuccessful up to now. The National Salvation Front, the largest party, insists on seven ministries, including the defense and interior posts. However, the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party consider the demands of the party that has been governing up to now to be excessive. Because of the stalemate, the prime minister designate has also called in the negotiating delegation of the Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [UDMR] to see him. Tibor Bogdan reports:

[Bogdan] There is less and less chance of the UDMR participating in the government coalition now being formed. This was said by Gheorghe Tokay, member of the five-man group negotiating the government formation, a few minutes after the talks held with Prime Minister Designate Theodor Stolojan. The UDMR has now been offered three ministerial posts—the economic and finance, industrial affairs, and trade portfolios—but the leadership and the political parties still firmly refuse to consider the thought of creating a ministry for nationalities, and the body representing the Magyars in Romania has set this as an absolute condition for participating in the government.

UDMR Leader Explains Nonparticipation Policy

LD1310135891 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0730 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] The Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [UDMR] will not be a part of the Romanian government. Hajnal Mate has interviewed Deputy Chairman Geza Szocs:

[Begin recording] [Mate] Why, in your opinion, would it have been compromising for the UDMR to participate in the government?

[Szocs] My personal opinion, which must be differentiated from the opinion of the UDMR, is that we should not participate even in a noncompromising government, not primarily because of political or moral considerations, but from the point of view of expediency. We are facing such a difficult winter that anyone who is in government can only fail. They simply do not have sufficient breathing space. These brief few months are not enough for them to be able to introduce an economic reform program.

It looks as if the conditions that the UDMR expressed, and which I can safely say were minimal conditions, will not be met. So, from the start, the possibility of the UDMR participating in the government is ruled out.

[Mate] But perhaps this is really the aim of the present leadership, to exlclude the UDMR from the government?

[Szocs] We do not know this. We do not know what bases this government, which is not even formed yet, can have. In my view, it will be somewhat forced to cover itself, to gain allies from as many places as possible.

[Mate] How far does the new government consider the participation in government of extralegislative nationalist parties to be better?

[Szocs] I am sure that the nationalism represented by the parties within the legislature is quite enough. I consider it impossible, knowing head of government Stolojan, that he would be trying to include the extremist forces outside the Parliament.

[Mate] Is it true that certain members of the National Salvation Front have transferred to other parties?

[Szocs] There is great movement; truly, a fever of transferring has started in the past months, and this has not yet ended. But, the transfers do not significantly modify the balance of power in the Parliament. Views are being articulated more and more within the UDMR. It is a question here of the commencement and acceleration of an endeavor for internal differentiation and the search for an identity. But all of these groups know that we are in a situation in which only the search for a constant internal consensus can make possible a successful nationality political activity. [end recording]

Transylvania's Szeklers Plan Autonomy Referendum

AU1110200191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1856 GMT 11 Oct 91

["Political Life: Towards Autonomy for the Szeklers' Land?"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/10/1991—In its October 10 issue the Hungarian-language newspaper "UJ SZO" of Timisoara informs of a meeting in Arad (on October 5) of the National Council of the deputies of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (HDUR) showing that on that occasion Mr. Adam Katona, vice-president in charge of organizational affairs of the Tirgu Secuiesc branch of the HDUR, informed the delegates that "a people's referendum is envisaged to decide on the autonomy of the Szeklers' land. "According to "UJ SZO," the Szeklers' political consensus group reached that conclusion after months' debates and the motivation was that "the Hungarian community lives in a compact block, having other claims and possibilities than the ethnic Hungarians in Banat, for instance." According to Mr. Katona, "the step to be made would not be detrimental to the Hungarians who live in isolation." Furthermore, the newspaper shows, "the envisaged territorial autonomy does not mean a federation, or isolation or separatism, but rather, regionalism, a growing role of regions." "UJ SZO" points out that "it goes without saying" that such a decision cannot be made unless "all the inhabitants of that territory are consulted and agree." In that context, readers are informed that the political consensus group decided to create an organizational commission to prepare a civic assembly to be held in Lutita on October 19. Every Szekler settlement will be represented to that meeting where a decision is to be reached, by a joint statement, on the organization of a "mass referendum."

UDMR Rejects Referendum Plan

LD1110134591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Text] The Democratic Union of Magyars in Romania [UDMR] has issued a communique dissociating itself from the group that is attempting to use the anniversary of the 1848 Szekler People's Assembly to demand territorial autonomy for Szeklerland. The UDMR states to the public in the document that no Szeklerland political group exists in its organization whatsoever and, thus, the UDMR does not accept responsibility for the activity of this group. At the same time, the statement calls attention to the fact that prior to the forthcoming Romanian elections, all such thoughtless initiatives can only harm the UDMR.

FSN Shows 'Deep Anxiety'

AU1310165891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/10/1991—The National Salvation Front [FSN] shows deep anxiety over

the intentions regarding a so-called referendum in Covasna and Harghita Counties for an alleged autonomy of a "Szecklers' Country," shows an FSN statement sent to the national news agency "ROMPRES."

Considering that such new shows cast light once more on an exacerbated nationalism conducive to hatred and enmity, the National Salvation Front assesses in its statement that these are serious attempts at the country' unity and dignity, a profoundly illegal act that runs counter to elementary norms, which sanction the organization of collective consultations in a state of law, a defying attack upon the fundamental charter of any state, upon constitutional norms, already adopted by Romania's Parliament, including the representatives of all minorities to the Constituent Assembly, as well as a flagrant disconsideration of historical realities, of the Romanian state's characteristics of being, from its very foundation, national, sovereign, independent, unitary and indivisible.

The National Salvation Front assumes its responsibility of not only unequivocally condemning any attempt threatening the national being and the Romanian state's unity but also of firmly extinguishing such shows by consistently resorting to the instruments of the state of law.

The National Salvation Front reiterates its belief that the common destiny of Romania's citizens is to share their joys and sorrows, to fight so as to surmount difficulties only by observing the legal rigours of a state of law and the democratic constitutional principles unanimously recognized by the international community, the FSN statement also says.

PAC Condemns Action

AU1510090691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1610 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 14/10/1991—The Civic Alliance Party (PAC) considers the national territory of Romania as unitary and indivisible and that none of its parts could make the object of negotiations, writes a communique issued by the PAC in reply to the initiative of a referendum on a so-called "autonomy" of the Szeklers in Covasna and Harghita Counties.

The PAC strongly condemns any attempt of the kind and shows that the initiative of a group of Szeklers in the two counties is nothing but a new attempt to divide the population on ethnic criteria.

Consistent with its principles on minorities, as laid out in the Civic Alliance's Declaration, aligned to international standards, says the communique, the PAC reasserts its view that the solution to such problems lies only in the observance of these standards. Romania needs peace and stability and therefore any attempt to kindle conflicts is contrary to national interests.

PUNR Opposes Separatist Move

AU1210191991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1991—The Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR] takes stand in a press release against the intention of separatist groups in Romania that allegedly plan for the next week "the declaration of territorial autonomy of a so-called 'Country of Szecklers' in the counties of Covasna and Harghita."

"At least now," the PUNR states, "the country's leadership should show the necessary responsibility for the destiny of the Romanian people, for the defence of the state of law." In that context, the party demands among other things "the immediate calling of the Supreme Defence Council of the Country to analyze the situation and decide on the opportuneness of exceptional measures," the restoration of the order of law and of the authority of the Romanian state in the Counties of Covasna and Harghita, starting with the dismissal of the two Hungarian prefects," "Romania's Procurator's Office should start prosecuting those who initiated and organized separatist actions in Romania's territory," "Romania's Parliament and the Constituent Assembly should reconsider and eliminate all provisions that grant privileges to certain ethnical groups and that favour the emergence of acts hostile to the unitary Romanian national state, as well as the presentation, according to an emergency procedure, in Romania's Parliament of the report of the commission for hearing the Romanians ousted from Covasna and Harghita Counties.

The PUNR calls on all political, social and cultural organizations in Romania to give proof of due responsibility in the assertion of the Romanian people's unity and national dignity.

Iliescu Writes NATO's Woerner on Cooperation

AU1210162591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1407 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1991—President Ion Iliescu of Romania addressed, on 10 October, 1991, a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner, expressing Romania's interest and willingness to develop "effectively and dynamically" its relationships with NATO countries on the background of the new relationships being forged between the North-Atlantic Alliance and the East-and Central-European countries, of developments, as a whole, in the European continent, writes a press release of the president's press bureau.

Reviewing the latest events in Europe, events that confirm "the major risks threatening the young East-European democracies at a time like this of often unpredictable and almost always uncontrollable changes," President Ion Iliescu underlines that, "in such circumstances, like the other countries in the area, Romania places its hopes for national security and zonal stability on NATO," which "plays a prominent part in Europe of today and will hold an important place in the Europe of tomorrow."

Romania, reads the letter, welcomed the London and Copenhagen NATO decisions to develop new, partnership relationships with the Central-and East-European countries, cherishes the clear-cut political signals these documents contain and entirely shares the belief expressed by the NATO countries that "their own security is inseparably linked to that of all the other European states," acknowledging also their statement that "they do not want to isolate any country, or to see a new division of the continent."

Convinced of the importance of the forms of collaboration envisaged by the NATO states, Romania expresses its will to participate in the implementation of a bulky package of new initiatives that should express the North Atlantic Alliance's commitment to the development of partnership in the domain of security, such as those stipulated in the Copenhagen declaration regarding the organization of official and expert meetings for consultations and exchanges of information, the intensification of contacts on a military line at the level of leaders of the NATO and of the respective countries, the participation of the experts from central and Eastern European countries in certain activities of the NATO, the gradual expansion of the Alliance's programs of information, including the setting up of a NATO information and documentation centre in Bucharest, the encouragement of contacts among the parliaments in Eastern European countries and the North Atlantic Assembly, measures that could be summed up in a coherent strategy, as part of a partnership scheme, apt to confer on the states in central and Eastern Europe the inherent attributes of partnership, thus deterring possible hostile actions.

Seeing such measures as "intermediate steps that should pave the way to closer links between Romania and the North-Atlantic Alliance," Romania is ready to go much farther on the path to cooperation with the NATO and "participate in any format of cooperation that will be opened to countries in central and Eastern Europe."

The final section of the letter welcomes the recent American-German proposals regarding the organization of periodical ministerial meetings between NATO states and Eastern European countries and the USSR within what could be termed as a new "North Atlantic Cooperation Council," the establishment of a system of relations between the NATO and the new democracies in Eastern Europe and the USSR, the periodical participation of these countries in the meetings of the NATO political and economic committees and any other like measure, the release of the presidency press office reads in conclusion.

Iliescu Writes India's Leader on Abducted Diplomat

AU1310191391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1731 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/10/1991—The kidnapping of Romania's charge d'affaires ad interim to New Delhi, Mr. Liviu Radu, has dismayed us, more particularly because the Indian authorities asserted that the Romanian diplomats' security would be guaranteed following the firm actions taken by the Romanian side to safeguard the life of Indian ambassador to Bucharest, shows a message Romania's President Ion Iliescu sent to India's president.

Taking into account Mr. Liviu Radu's health condition, the Romanian president warmly calls on the Indian head of state to do everything depending on him for an undelayed release of the Romanian diplomat since any procrastination would have irreparable repercussions. The Romanian authorities are ready to cooperate closely with the Indian authorities with a view to solving the case as fast as possible.

Nastase Phones Indian Counterpart

AU1210203391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 12/10/1991—Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, had a telephone talk on Saturday October 12 afternoon with Indian Foreign Minister Madhav Singh Solanki, in connection with the situation created by the Romanian diplomat Liviu Radu's abduction, especially in consideration of the kidnappers' requests as to the release of Indian citizens from jails in India.

The Romanian foreign minister expressed the Romanian authorities' and public opinion great worry about the fate of the Romanian diplomat, as well as the hope that the Indian authorities would take the necessary steps to settle the case fast.

International

Tudjman, Milosevic Arrive in Moscow for Talks

LD1510145691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1343 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Moscow, October 15 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman arrived here today. They will have separate talks with Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev later in the afternoon.

The two presidents were met at Moscow's Sheremetyevo-1 Airport by Yugoslav Ambassador Andjelko Runjic with members of the Embassy staff, and Soviet Foreign Ministry and protocol representatives.

The chartered plane with Franjo Tudjman landed first exactly at 1 P.M.

On landing, Tudjman told a group of Yugoslav and foreign newsmen he had come to 'inform Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin about the crisis in Yugoslavia' and the 'war against Croatia,' so that Moscow can help end 'this unfortunate war.'

Slobodan Milosevic, whose plane landed seven minutes later, said he hoped that 'in accordance with our relations, constructive talks will be held.' He concluded, 'the intentions and wishes are known and we hope that the visit will match our expectations.'

Milosevic To Meet With Yeltsin

LD1410221991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2118 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic during his two-day visit to the Soviet Union, for which he leaves tomorrow at the invitation of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, will also have talks with Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin.

Milosevic, as his cabinet has announced today, will review with Yeltsin the further development of economic relations between Serbia and Russia.

President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman is also to leave for Moscow tomorrow at the invitation of Gorbachev, as announced by the Soviet Foreign Ministry today. Milosevic and Tudjman, according to the statement, are coming to Moscow in order to talk about settling the conflict in Yugoslavia, through the mediation of Gorbachev.

USSR To Stop Deliveries of Natural Gas to Serbia

LD1210044991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1413 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 11 (TANJUG)—The Soviet Union has announced that it would stop delivering natural gas to the Republic of Serbia if its 123-million-marks debt is not repaid until the end of this month, says the Belgrade daily BORBA.

The Soviet decision not to supply Serbian consumers with gas on credit stands to reason, the daily says, even more so since gas consumption is expected to increase in the winter months.

A Soviet delegation is currently visiting Belgrade in order to settle the problem in a peaceful way, the daily adds.

Germany Recognizes Passports of Republic of Slovenia

LD1110175491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Bonn, October 11 (TANJUG)—Germany has joined a group of countries which recognize the passports of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia.

Germany's decision went into effect immediately and the border authorities were informed about it.

The German Interior Ministry today said that Slovenians entering Germany would be issued a special, tax-free, document to be used together with the passport.

Austria was the first to accept Slovenian passports and Italy followed suit. Hungary has announced that it would accept both Slovenian and Croatian travel documents.

France Rejects Request for Arms Sales to Croatia

LD1210204691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1953 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—France will not comply with the request of Yugoslav President Stipe Mesic to sell weapons to Croatia, French Secretary of State for Humanitarian Questions Bernard Kouchner said this evening. Speaking at a press conference at the French Embassy in Belgrade, Kouchner underscored that his country was the very one which had had an important influence on the European Community (E.C.) to adopt the decision on an embargo on all sales of weapons to Yugoslavia.

Mesic last night asked France to sell weapons to Croatia. The Yugoslav president is in France for a "brief vacation," it has been announced in Paris.

Kouchner leaves for Zagreb tomorrow where he will deliver to Croatian President Franjo Tudjman a personal message from French President Francois Mitterrand. The French minister will deliver the same message to Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic when he returns to Belgrade on Monday.

Four lorries with medical equipment are expected to arrive in Belgrade tonight. France is sending the aid to the Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Croatia, Kouchner underscored.

Embassy in Paris Protests Mesic TV Appearance

LD1310183191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Paris, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—A protest was sent from the Yugoslav Embassy in Paris to the director of French television's Channel 3, Dominique Alduy, over Yugoslav State Presidency President Stjepan Mesic's appearance on television on October 8.

In the protest letter, Yugoslav Embassy press attache Vladimir Prvulovic said that "bringing the imposed president of the Yugoslav Presidency, in the company of a (Ustasha) priest and two French nationalists, to the news program represents a gross insult to Yugoslavs of Serbian origin living in France."

In the program, Mesic said "Yugoslavia does not exist," although he did not bring into question his function as president of the Yugoslav Presidency.

The founders of a group of intellectuals from central and eastern Europe also reacted to Mesic's statements. They said in a letter to Alduy that a spate of television and press commentaries in France "equate democracy and the most retrograde nationalism in Yugoslavia."

The French media are over-simplifying the developments in Yugoslavia and dividing the protagonists into the good guys and the bad guys, that is, the democrats and the totaliatarians, the letter said.

Council of Europe Move To End Cooperation Scored

LD1110173491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1455 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 11 (TANJUG)—"By deciding to end cooperation with Yugoslavia, the Council of Europe has deprived itself of opportunity to influence the developments in Yugoslavia," the Belgrade daily BORBA on Friday quoted Yugoslav Foreign Ministry spokesman Srdjan Kerim as saying.

The decision of the Council of Europe is "practically to its own disadvantage," said Kerim.

"Yugoslavia is still a subject of international law" and "the conference in The Hague is still under way," he recalled.

As of last year, Yugoslavia has enjoyed the status of "special guest" at the Council of Europe, said Kerim, adding that a decision like this "is not the right way for surmounting difficulties, even when they seem insurmountable as they do at present."

EC Threatens Serbia, Montenegro With Sanctions

LD1210132291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1119 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Excerpts] The Hague, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Hans Van den Broek, president of the EC Ministerial Council, has warned that the EC could introduce sanctions against Serbia, Montenegro, and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] if the verbal agreement reached two days ago in The Hague on the withdrawal of YPA units from Croatia is not observed, an official representative of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs told a TANJUG correspondent today.

According to the Netherlands Foreign Ministry spokesman, the warning was contained in a reply that Hans van den Broek sent last night to the SFRY Presidency. The Presidency previously informed the Netherlands foreign minister of its decision not to withdraw YPA units from the Croatian regions inhabited by Serbs "because this would expose them to physical extermination." [passage omitted]

In last night's reply to the message, according to the Netherlands ministry spokesman, Van den Broek demanded that the Presidency confirm the agreement reached two days ago with the three Yugoslav representatives. Failing this, he reminded them of last weekend's agreement of the ministerial meeting of the twelve in Utrecht. That agreement stated that sanctions would be taken against parties in Yugoslavia that violate agreements reached in the peace process on Yugoslavia so far. [passage omitted]

Kostic Questions EC's 'Less Unbiasedness' in Talks

LD1310205591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Trebinje, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, today visited some Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units in the Dubrovnik area. He was accompanied by Momir Bulatovic, president of the Montenegrin Presidency.

After talks in the operations group command center, where Kostic was briefed on the situation in that area of the front [ratiste] by Lieutenant Colonel Mile Ruzinovski, commander of the operations group, the SFRY vice president answered reporters' questions.

Kostic said: "I presume that every man at the front has a clear idea of the objectives of these actions and why the YPA has become involved, which is to frustrate those who over a long period of time have constantly been wrecking Yugoslavia, people whose aim is to destroy the YPA as the only legitimate armed force that should serve the function of protecting Yugoslavia and the peoples who wish to live together.

"Not all areas have grasped this idea with an equal degree of responsibility and, in some areas, partial political interests are being put before the general interest. This is one of the problems which is obviously present and to which an answer will have to be given as soon as possible."

Commenting on the position taken by the leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina on army actions in this area, Dr. Kostic said that in this case political options and the

interests of political parties are being put before the general interest of the peoples living together, "regardless of whether these military conflicts could expand and escalate or if there could be widespread bloodshed between the Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia, which would be tragic. Even if this escalation does occur, the people and the survivors will still have to live together."

Kostic went on to say that it appeared to him that people in responsible positions in Bosnia-Hercegovina had put their narrow political interests before the interests of the people, but he mentioned no specifics.

Replying to a question on how he interpreted yesterday's ultimatum on the Army's unconditional withdrawal put forward by one section of Europe, Kostic observed that, as things moved along, Europe was behaving increasingly aggressively and with less and less unbiasedness.

"I think it would have been much better if, during the talks in The Hague on 10 October, Van den Broek had spent that day talking to Tudjman separately. He should have insisted and used all of his and Europe's influence to get Tudjman to finally agree to the implementation of the point in the 4 October agreement through which Croatia would lift the blockade on the barracks in Croatia. This was the first point in The Hague agreement with which Tudjman failed to comply. Instead, it appears that Van den Broek used, or attempted to use, these talks to establish new conditions which are totally unacceptable and which these people, obviously, will never be prepared to accept. Should Europe continue to behave in this way, I am afraid that the dissatisfaction of the people in these areas will erupt and that they will finally say that is enough. These people will obviously never be prepared to accept such unacceptable conditions."

Kostic then stressed: "All the agreements which have been signed envisioned the lifting of the blockade on the barracks. Each agreement was accepted by our side and consistently complied with and implemented during each ceasefire. Instead of trying to come to a political solution, they always tried to regroup, to rearm, and to improve their equipment to continue their actions. It follows that they are not ready to peacefully search for a solution to our crisis. This being the case, in my view there is no other option but to use armed force to respond to armed force, to break the resistance of all paramilitary formations, and to do so with the legitimate army of the legally and only recognized country, regardless of the fact that individual people in Europe are trying to eliminate it in advance and to quietly throttle it."

Hague Session Opens Attended by All 6 Republics

LD1410104591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0059 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—The Fifth Plenary Session of the conference on Yugoslavia, chaired by Lord Carrington, commenced this morning in The Hague.

Yugoslav foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and the foreign ministers of the country's six republics are attending the session. As is the custom, Lord Carrington has not revealed the agenda of the meeting, which is being held behind closed doors.

Today's exchange of views at the Fifth Plenary Session is also being attended by Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the United Nations secretary-general.

In contrast to the previous plenary session, today's meeting was not preceded by separate contacts between the conference's chairman and the heads of the delegations from Yugoslavia.

It has been learned from sources close to the conference that an attempt will be made today to establish the minimum points of agreement needed for the negotiations on Yugoslavia's future to be conducted more efficiently.

Republic's Presidents To Meet 22 Oct

LD1410164591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1514 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 14 (TANJUG)—The mandate of the European Commission's monitor mission in Yugoslavia was extended for a further three months today, as chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Lord Carrington announced.

Addressing a news conference at the conference on Yugoslavia headquarters in The Hague, the British diplomat specified that a memorandumn on the extension of the mandate of the E.C. monitor mission was signed by the Yugoslav Federal foreign secretary and the foreign ministers of all six Yugoslav republics.

Lord Carrington confirmed that a meeting of the presidents of the six Yugoslav Republics would be held in The Hague on October 22, Tuesday, and said that the meeting would try to resolve the problems which the three conference commissions had not succeeded in resolving so far.

Lord Carrington expressed hope that the Yugoslav Federation would be represented at the October 22 meeting by Presidency of Yugoslavia President Stjepan Mesic.

Plenary Talks Rescheduled for 18 Oct

LD1410172791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 14 (TANJUG)—The next plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia, with the participation of all Yugoslav republics, is to be held on Friday, October 18, and not on Tuesday, October 22, as previously announced by Lord Carrington at the press conference earlier on Monday.

The new date was specified in a brief press release of the Dutch Foreign Ministry.

The change of date was being explained by lack of progress in the work of the commissions, which, as set out, was the outcome of a lack of contructive stands on the part of the Yugoslav participants.

Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek consulted with Lord Carrington on the date and with his permission decided to move the date of the plenary on Friday, October 18 [as received].

Loncar Proposes New Summit on SFRY

LD1410154691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, October 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today proposed a new summit to be attended by the presidents of all Yugoslav republics, representatives of the leading federal institutions and leading figures of the European Community involved in the conference on Yugoslavia.

Loncar told the Fifth Plenary Session of the conference in The Hague that the time has come to define one's positions through top-level consultations towards future relations in the Yugoslav area.

Speaking of the 'new Yugoslav architecture,' Loncar pointed out the two principles on which it was based—the right to self-determination and sovereignty which is not open to question, and its implementation in a way adjusted to the integration trends in Europe.

It is beyond dispute among us that the transformation of society must proceed along the lines of parliamentary democracy, pluralism, respect of human rights and market economy, in which private property will be predominant, emphasized Loncar. However, we have not succeeded in finding the way of adjusting these questions to the needs for new relations between the republics and respect for the legitimate aspirations and interests of all in Yugoslavia, he noted.

Loncar Stresses 'Joint' Orientation

LD1410211591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1634 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—It is very important now to find a framework for a joint Yugoslav orientation. After that, we will continue talks about the final solution within the framework of the conference on Yugoslavia. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said this to TANJUG following a plenary session in The Hague today. After the session, Loncar had a meeting with Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, and then with UN special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Loncar and Lord Carrington discussed a conference with republican presidents, announced for Friday, 18 October in The Hague.

Cyrus Vance briefed Loncar about the continuation of the mission entrusted upon him by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Tomorrow, Vance will travel to Macedonia, where he will meet President Kiro Gligorov, then on to Bosnia-Hercegovina to meet President Alija Izetbegovic, and finally to Montenegro to meet President Momir Bulatovic. Vance will then go to Belgrade to meet the Yugoslav foreign minister. Afterwards, he will go to Zagreb and Ljubljana to meet Presidents Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan.

The UN special envoy told Loncar today that the aim of his mission is not just to consolidate a truce, but to achieve a permanent peace in Yugoslavia. He took part in today's plenary session on Yugoslavia with this end in mind.

Croatian Serbs Seek Autonomous Status at The Hague

AU1210165291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Milan Babic, president of the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, and Goran Hadzic, president of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, arrived this morning in Paris for a meeting with the coordinator of The Hague conference, Henri Wijnaendts, who is ambassador of the Netherlands to France. Here is a statement by Ilija Petrovic, minister for information in the Government of the Serbian Region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, on the stands and demands that the representatives of these regions will present to Wijnaendts.

[Begin Petrovic recording] Messrs. Babic and Hadzic will discuss with Mr. Wijnaendts the status of Krajina and Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem in the future organization of the Yugoslav state community. These two Serbian regions should, as envisaged, receive the status of autonomous [samostalan] territories. This status would be secured through the guarantees of the international community, and they would be contained in an international agreement. The Serbian regions would regulate their status with their own act. This act would be adopted with the consent of the international community, which would guarantee it. All authority on the territory of the Serbian regions would be performed by the organs of these regions.

The proposal that no armed forces of the Republic of Croatia be stationed on the territory of the Serbian regions is a particularly important thing for the status of the Serbian regions. This, too, should be regulated and guaranteed by an international agreement.

If some disputable issues arise in connection with the realization of this special status of the Serbian regions, these issues would be resolved by a commission consisting of members of the international community. [end recording]

Croatia Offers Autonomy to Serbs

LD1410165691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1548 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The Hague, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatia is ready to offer a very broad autonomy to the Serbs, but within Croatia's borders, Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic said in The Hague today, after the conclusion of the conference plenary session on Yugoslavia had ended. In his explanation of what he meant by "very broad autonomy" he mentioned local self-administration, cultural autonomy, the right to their language, and all other rights.

According to Separovic, the problem of Serbs in Croatia is the central topic of the conference on Yugoslavia. He recalled that the present Croatian Constitution and laws guarantee equality to Serbs. At the same time, Separovic said, the Croatian Government is preparing a law that will more adequately regulate the status of the Serbs in Croatia.

Asked to comment on the announced invitation by Lord Carrington to Presidency President Stipe Mesic to attend a session of all presidents of the Yugoslave republics, on Tuesday, 22 October, in The Hague, Separovic said: that means recognition of Mesic as a legitimate president.

Slovenia Opposes Federal Officials at Hague Forum

LD1110195291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1818 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—The Commission for International Relations of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today decided that the question should be broached of recalling federal reprentatives to The Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia.

The commission maintains that the federal representatives no longer have legitimacy since one-half of the Yugoslav State Presidency has 'unconstitutionally' taken upon itself to administer the country.

On October 4, the members of the State Presidency from the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro took over the administration of the state, because of what they saw as a blockade of the work of the federal organs in conditions of an immediate threat of war.

Sessions of the eight-member head of state are no longer attended by the members from the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia- Hercegovina and Macedonia.

Slovenia and Croatia, which on October 7 and 8, respectively, confirmed their independence bids, had previously recalled most of their representatives to the federal bodies.

At The Hague conference, Slovenia insists on independence without forging new ties with the rest of the state as it exists today and would propose a division of property and raise the question of succession to Yugoslavia, the commission said.

President of the Slovenian Presidency Milan Kucan has announced that the republic will propose to The Hague conference that a commission be set up to regulate the disunification of the Yugoslav republics.

The Hague conference on Yugoslavia resumes on October 14.

Vance Arrives in Belgrade as Special UN Envoy

LD1210153691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance, special envoy to United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, arrived in Belgrade today where he will meet, as he said, with a number of Yugoslav politicians. Vance declined to comment to reporters at Belgrade airport whether he was optimistic regarding the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Diplomatic sources say that Vance will first meet with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar. Meetings have been announced for tomorrow with Prime Minister Ante Markovic, president of the Yugoslav republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, Federal Defence Minister General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic and Chief-of-General-Staff General Blagoje Adzic.

Vance said that he would leave for The Hague tomorrow afternoon, and would return to Yugoslavia on Tuesday, where he would stay until the end of next week. As originally scheduled, Vance was to have visited Zagreb before leaving for The Hague. Vance's meeting with Yugoslav State Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic, scheduled for Sunday, has also been cancelled.

Briefs Media on Mission's Aims

LD1210210191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2004 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, this evening expressed his satisfaction with the "very constructive and useful talks" which he had with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs. In a statement to journalists after his talks Vance specified that the talks referred to the existing situation and problems in Yugoslavia. "This was needed so that I can inform the UN secretary general who will be preparing a report to the Security Council," added the prominent U.S. politician who was President Carter's secretary of state.

In reply to a question from TANJUG, Vance said his intention is to visit other republics next week and to meet all the members of the SFRY Presidency.

The UN secretary general's special envoy tomorrow will conduct separate talks with Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; General Veljko

Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense; and General Blagoje Adzic, chief of general staff of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Cyrus Vance arrived for talks in Yugoslavia with a long list of clearly defined questions and intends to meet all the main protagonists in the Yugoslav crisis. On Sunday afternoon Vance leaves for The Hague and will return to our country on Tuesday for another series of contacts and talks.

Holds Consultations With Markovic

LD1310111691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic received Cyrus Vance, the UN secretary general's special envoy for Yugoslavia today.

The FEC's Information Secretariat said that during a lengthy meeting Vance was interested in the genesis of the Yugoslav crisis and in the progress of the reform carried out by the FEC and Ante Markovic. The secretary general's envoy also wanted to hear the FEC president's assessment of the current economic situation in the country and its impact on the quest for the ultimate solution.

The FEC president spoke at length about the development of the events in the country and about the causes of Yugoslavia being in the present situation. He stressed especially, the secretariat says, that a lasting peace and an acceptable solution for future relations within Yugoslavia can be attained only within the program implicit in a package which will offer a solution for the elimination of the main reasons which have brought about the present crisis.

Views Serbia's Stand With Milosevic

LD1310160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1355 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic told the U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar's special envoy, Cyrus Vance, that Serbia had no territorial claims.

Milosevic, as the Serbian president's cabinet announced, reiterated Serbia's stand that internal, administrative borders between the Yugoslav republics could not be transformed into state borders by unilateral and secessionist acts.

Vance was informed that Serbia was advocating a peaceful and just settlement of the Yugoslav state and political crisis, which should, as announced, be founded on the respect of the right to self-determination of all the Yugoslav peoples and its realization in a legal way.

Serbia, the statement said, considers that the principles set at the beginning of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia can be a solid basis for a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, on the condition that everyone adheres to them equally and that they apply to all equally. [passage omitted]

Meets Kadijevic; 'Satisfied' With Talks

LD1310182791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1719 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—Special envoy of the U.N. secretary general Cyrus Vance left Belgrade today for The Hague after the first round of talks on the causes and consequences of the Yugoslav crisis. Well-informed sources in Belgrade say he is satisfied with the talks.

Vance, who was U.S. secretary of state in the Carter administration, is expected to attend the fifth plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague tomorrow. The conference is chaired by British diplomat Lord Carrington. Vance will return to Belgrade next Tuesday to resume talks with the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics and the other chief protagonists of the Yugoslav crisis.

TANJUG learns that meetings with representatives of the Serb people in Croatia have not been planned, but the possibility should not be ruled out.

Vance arrived in Belgrade yesterday to gain first-hand knowledge about developments in Yugoslavia for a report which U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is to submit to the Security Council. The Security Council on September 25 adopted Resolution 713 urging a peaceful end to the several-month-long conflicts in Yugoslavia and banning arms deliveries to this Balkan state. [passage omitted]

Vance described his meeting with Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar last night as "constructive and useful".

This afternoon, Vance met with the federal defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, and the chief of the Yugoslav People's Army General Staff, General Blagoje Adzic.

Markovic Meets EC, U.S. Ambassadors, Urges Action

LD1110231591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic today urged for intensifying the effort for stabilizing the ceasefire in Yugoslavia and The Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia, for stress to be laid on the economic programme of his government as the foundation for a new agreement on the future of Yugoslavia and for inter-republican relations to be dealt with en bloc.

Markovic voiced his views in separate talks in Belgrade with the ambassadors to Yugoslavia of the European Community (EC) Commission, the United States of America and the Netherlands.

Markovic asked E.C. Ambassador Mark Jansens to convey to president of the E.C. Commission Jacques Delors the message that Yugoslavia is threatened by an economic collapse, and that it is therefore necessary for economic questions to be put on the agenda of The Hague conference.

Markovic and Jansens agreed that this would facilitate the finding of solutions to political questions outstanding in the country, it has been announced.

Dutch Ambassador Jan Fietelaars told Markovic that the E.C. still considered the Federal Government's economic programme as the only foundation for resolving the Yugoslav crisis [as received].

Markovic told U.S. Ambassador Warren Zimmerman that it was necessary that Washington join more actively in the quest for a solution to the Yugoslav crisis, with which view the U.S. ambassador agreed.

Grenades, Ammo Found in EC Humanitarian Convoy

LD1110203491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The deputy commander of the Fifth Military District stated in Zagreb today that hand grenades and ammunition were found on board a Vukovar-bound convoy carrying humanitarian aid. The arms, according to General (Andrija) Raseta, were found inside an ambulance, which will be subjected to a thorough search in Vinkovci before being allowed to resume the journey tomorrow morning.

AFP quotes Gen. Raseta as saying that the EC observers, escorting the convoy on its way to Vukovar, insisted that the convoy be returned to Vinkovci.

Raseta also said that a mortar bomb which exploded near the convoy this morning was not aimed at the convoy. He added that the EC observers escorting the convoy shared his assessment, as did representatives of the Croatian authorities.

Raseta also stated that the Croatian authorities never addressed the Army with a request to evacuate 2,000 children from Vukovar. In Gen. Raseta's words, the demands of the Croatian authorities only referred to vital supplies, medicine, and the evacuation of the injured.

EC Leaves Convoy, Returns to Zagreb

LD1210194291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Simon Smits, spokesman for the EC observers mission, told journalists in Zagreb this afternon that a meeting between General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District, and Colonel Imre Agotic of the Croatian Army General Staff had been postponed in order to clarify some issues and consult about additional powers.

Smits also said that the team of EC observers that had escorted the humanitarian aid convoy to Vukovar had returned to Zagreb. Mario Bondioli, head of the EC observers group, made the decision to return to Zagreb in line with "the observers' golden rule to return if they decide they are not safe enough."

Smits did not give any further details about the decision to return or who had threatened the EC observers mission near Vukovar.

EC Observer Interviewed on Convoys

LD1410110891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 14 Oct 91

["Conversation" with Mr. Smits, representative of the European Community observer group, by correspondent Tihomir Vinkovic; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Vinkovic] Mr. Smits, can you tell us what the results of yesterday's negotiations are, especially regarding the humanitarian aid for Vukovar?

[Smits in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] The main thing we managed to agree on is that the convoy will leave for Vukovar at 0800 in the morning and that it will come into Vukovar at about 0900. Food and medicine have to be unloaded, and the wounded, the elderly, and children evacuated from Vukovar at about 1300 hours. At the same time, all Yugoslav Army units must leave the barracks in Borovo. This is the second part of the agreement yesterday.

Progress has been made during the negotiations on Dalmatia. Agreement has been reached on lifting the siege of the barracks and on the Army pull-out from Zadar, where the cease-fire is on the whole being complied with.

The negotiations between the warring sides in Dubrovnik will start at 0800 every day and are scheduled to go on until 1600 hours. So far, an agreement has been reached on regular water supplies for the city. Unfortunately, an accident happened, during which, according to our information, a Yugoslav Army man was [words indistinct], and in Pula, schools will open tomorrow. Civilian authorities (?should see to it) the population does not get unnecessarily alarmed.

At 1500 today, I will have another meeting with General Raseta and representatives of Croatian authorities. At 1500, we will reconvene here again in the hotel.

[Vinkovic, in English] Thank you.

[Smits, in English] You are welcome.

EC Observer Notes Successful Dubrovnik Meeting

LD1310161191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1456 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg Novi, October 13 (TANJUG)—Representative of the European Community (E.C.) monitor mission Adrian Stinger said following today's meeting with representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] (JNA) and the city authorities of Dubrovnik that the meeting had been "very successful." The meeting was held behind closed doors in the village of Mocici near Niksic, Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

The E.C. representative specified that a concrete agreement had been reached to start repairing the water and power supply systems of Dubrovnik.

Asked if it was correct that 15,000 shells had fallen on Dubrovnik, Stinger said that he was not familiar with that, and when he was asked about possible casualties in the city, he replied briefly that he did not know anything about that.

Stinger declined to comment on the stands of the individual sides, but merely said that both sides were working on resolving the problems in Dubrovnik and announced that a new meeting would be held tomorrow.

Federal

Mesic Says Markovic 'Lives Under Illusion'

LD1410175691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—"Ante Markovic certainly lives under the illusion that something can be done," SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic said at today's news conference. "The only thing that Markovic can do—and I believe that he agreed with us on this—is to try to internationalize the Yugoslav problem and crisis or, to be more precise, this aggressive war waged by Serbia against all," Mesic said.

Mesic then recalled that all federal officials "had the opportunity to say whether republics decide about their mandate or not." "The majority took that opportunity. Ante Markovic holds that his survival can still contribute to a peaceful resolution of the crisis, but an objective observer can see that he is practically without power," Stipe Mesic said.

Presidency: Recognizing Republics 'Dangerous'

LD1410173891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1638 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency, citing valid international documents, assessed that the recognition of unilaterally and unconstitutionally declared independence of Slovenia and Croatia would be an "extremely dangerous precedent with distastrous consequences for the international legal order", as TANJUG learns today.

"The recognition of secessionist acts of Slovenia and Croatia would be a gross violation of the U.N. Charter, the Helsinki documents and all international conventions on the inviolability of international borders", as the Yugoslav Presidency said last Friday.

The integral text of the Presidency's assessments and stands on the declaration of independence of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, which TANJUG received today, sets out articles of international documents which are inconsistent with the recognition of these two Republics.

The Yugoslav Presidency noted Item 4 of Article 2 of the U.N. Charter which says that all member-countries shall in their international relations refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

The Yugoslav Presidency pointed out Items 3, 4 and 6 of the Helsinki Declaration of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which, among other things, say that member-states consider inviolable all mutual borders as well as the borders of all states in Europe and will thus refrain from attacking these borders.

The document also says that member-states shall respect the territorial integrity of every country and refrain from actions against the political independence or unity of any member-state, particularly from actions which represents a threat or the use of force.

The Yugoslav Presidency recalls that, under the document, member-states shall refrain from making the territory of another member subject to military ocupation or other measure of indirect or direct use of force and that no such occupation would be recognized as legal.

Member-states will refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs of other member-states, says the CSCE Helsinki Declaration, as cited by the Yugoslav Presidency.

Finally, the Yugoslav Presidency, at its session on Friday, also cited Item 7 of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 713 adopted on September 25 which calls on all states to refrain from actions which could contribute to the increase of tension and refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat with such intervention against another state.

All states will in these circumstances refrain from other acts of military or political economic and other forms of coercion aimed at subjugating the right to sovereignty of another member-state for their own interests, says Item 7 of this Resolution.

The respect of these principles in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis would enable an end to fighting through

negotiations, and also enable all Yugoslavs to decide about their future in peace, it is said in the conclusions of the Yugoslav Presidency on Slovenia's and Croatia's proclamation of independence.

Presidency Response to EC, Cease-Fire

LD1110161991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The stands of the SFRY Presidency addressed to Hans Van den Broek:

Mr. Hans Van den Broek, chairman of the EC Council of Ministers, The Hague:

We are informing you that the SFRY Presidency, at the session held today, 11 October 1991, was acquainted with the proceedings and outcome of the meeting held in The Hague on 10 October 1991 which you chaired.

1. The SFRY Presidency maintains that the cease-fire strictly observed by all parties in the conflict is necessary for the denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, as envisaged by the SFRY Presidency decision of 7 October 1991 which fully represents the implementation of The Hague agreement of 4 October 1991.

2. During the cease-fire period the agreement reached on 4 October 1991 in The Hague at the meeting between the Serbian and Croatian presidents and the Federal Secretary for National Defense—that the authorities of the Republic of Croatia should immediately lift the blockade of garrisons and other Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] installations (in accordance with the annex), and that the YPA should relocate and regroup its units in the Republic of Croatia with the help from the EC observers—should be consistently implemented.

3. Political talks aimed at resolving the country's political crisis should be intensified immediately. In this respect the SFRY Presidency maintains that a deadline of one month, two at the most, should be observed at all costs.

4. The SFRY Presidency assesses as absolutely unacceptable that the YPA should withdraw from the Serbian-occupied territories in Croatia, because this would expose the Serbs to physical liquiditation [fizicka likvidacija]. The SFRY Presidency therefore maintains that until a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis is found, all military forces should remain on the territory where they are at present while respecting the cease-fire, and afterward take action in accordance with the political decisions and agreement which will have been achieved.

5. The SFRY Presidency fully stands by its decision of 7 October 1991 which stipulates that if the Republic of Croatia fails to ensure that the blockade of all YPA garrisons and installations on the territory if this republic are lifted, the SFRY Presidency will, depending on whether the agreement is adopted and implemented, take approriate measures in keeping with its constitutional duties and responsibilities.

(copy to) Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia

Vice President Dr. Branko Kostic

Assessments and Stances of the SFRY Presidency on the Declaration of Independence of the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia

At its session on 11 October 1991 the SFRY Presidency examined the situation which has arisen in connection with the proclamation of independence and sovereignty of Slovenia on 7 October 1991 and of Croatia on 8 October 1991, taking into consideration the conclusions of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly adopted at the session of the Chamber on 25 June 1991 (SFRY Official Gazette No. 47/91 of 25 June 1991).

Considering that the Yugoslav nations, using their right to self-determination, created the federal state, namely, the federal community as a voluntary community of equal Yugoslav nations and their republics, it is undeniable that this community was not imposed on any nation. Accordingly, in our federal system, unlike others, the federation acquired legitimate powers with the agreement of all federal units, that is, their assemblies and top organs of government.

Giving their consent, the republics obliged and made the federation responsible through the SFRY Constitution for the realization of several strategically important common interests, including the protection of the independence and territorial integrity and constitutional order of the SFRY. In other words, in defense of the common interests of the federation it is responsible to all nations and republics, and not only some of them. This gives it the right to take measures whenever these interests are threatened.

Since the joint interests and the responsibility of the federation in their protection were established by agreement, agreement is necessary if one party wishes to abdicate from the joint realization of these interests. This can be achieved by the negotiated adoption of an appropriate constitutional-legal act.

Proceeding from the above:

1. The SFRY Presidency has assessed and again stresses that the republics of Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their independence and sovereignty by unilateral, unconstitutional acts which cannot engender immediate constitutional-legal consequences. The protection of territorial integrity, which is a vital, constitutionally established joint interest, is a function and responsibility of the competent federal organs, including the Armed Forces of the SFRY whose involvement for that purpose has full legality and legitimacy.

2. The secessionist documents of Slovenia and Croatia pose a direct threat to the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, which is the only recognized subject in international law and whose component parts these republics are.

The SFRY Presidency therefore warns that the SFRY will consider any possible attempt of recognizing these documents of Slovenia and Croatia as a flagrant interference in its internal affairs and a step directed against its international status and territorial integrity. In this case it will apply all internationally recognized means at its disposal.

The SFRY Presidency stresses that the SFRY is one of the founders of the United Nations and one of its most active members and warns that a possible recognition of Slovenia's and Croatia's unilateral secessionist documents would flagrantly violate the UN Charter, the Helsinki documents, and all international conventions on the inviolability of international borders. At the same time, the recognition of a unilateral secession would be an extremely dangerous precedent with fatal consequences for the entire international legal system, especially in the cases of countries in which secessionist ambitions of some federal or administrative units are manifested.

3. The secession documents, passed by the organs of the republics of Croatia and Slovenia, although motivated and justified by the interests of the Croatian and Slovene people, ignore not only the interests of parts of other nations living in these republics, but also the interests of parts of the Croatian and Slovene people living in other republics.

Failure to observe the constitutional and legal system and the unilateral adoption of the decisions normally passed jointly and by agreement has already had far-reaching consequences, the spreading of interrepublican and intranational conflicts and direct armed actions with enormous loss of life and devastation. Further insisting on a unilateral secession and especially recognition could further exacerbate the general situation, open up new hotbeds of crisis and lead to chaos and a general civil war. These documents leave open the controversial issues of territories and border demarcations, as well as a whole series of other issues relating to present mutual relations which must be resolved by agreement and in accordance with the SFRY Constitution.

4. The SFRY Presidency considers that the decisions of the competent organs of the republics of Croatia and Slovenia on their independence and sovereignty pose a direct threat to the work of the international conference on Yugoslavia, which these two republics called for and which their leaders particularly advocated. This relates both to its peace efforts and to its final results, because the said decisions exacerbate still further all disputed issues and problems of relations in Yugoslavia, and prejudice solutions on the future relations between the Yugoslav nations and their republics.

That is why it is essential, and correct before the participants of this conference, that the moratorium on the application of secessionist acts should be observed while this conference lasts.

The SFRY Presidency considers that it is essential to support the work of the international conference on Yugoslavia, to speed up the adoption of decisions reached by arbitration on essential disputed issues and to verify them in the framework of the jointly established powers of the federal and republican organs.

5. The SFRY Presidency adheres to its stance that only the jointly and agreed adoption of decisions on the realization of the rights of nations to self-determination is in accordance with our constitutional and legal system. In order to achieve this in a legimitate manner, it is necessary to unblock the work of all federal institutions, particularly the SFRY Assembly. Obstructing its work by withdrawal and non-participation in the joint institutions of the federation is a crude violation of the SFRY Constitution, the federal laws, and the rules of procedure on the method of work and decision making in them, or rather a conscious thwarting of solutions by legal means to the problems which have arisen. In accordance with this assessment accusations against the representatives of those republics and provinces which are actively participating in a constitutional manner in the work and decision making of the federal organs are unacceptable.

6. In the present situation, in which with the absence of the representatives of certain republics the work of the federal organs is being ignored and their decision making blocked, the protection of the interests and prevention of harmful consequences for other nations and republics demand that the decision making in these institutions should be legalized even without the participation of those who are blocking their work.

The right of nations to self-determination, which equally belongs to all Yugoslav nations, also embodies the principle that its use should not be detrimental to other Yugoslav nations. Proceeding from the nature of this right and from the aforementioned principles, decisions on joint interests which are jointly adopted by the representatives of the other nations have full legitimacy and constitutionality.

7. It is the SFRY Presidency stand that all federal institutions (the SFRY Assembly, Federal Executive Council, National Bank of Yugoslavia, Social Accountancy Service, and so on) should realize the continuity of their work in the interests of those republics and nations whose representatives participate in it. Accordingly, they should consider without delay all current questions within their competence and, on the basis of the right of nations to self-determination, adopt all the decisions which are essential for the protection of the interests of those nations or republics which they represent, from the consequences of the forced and unconstitutional secession of Slovenia and Croatia.

Kostic Discusses Army Withdrawal From Croatia

AU1110220191 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Interview with Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, by Branka Mihajlovic in Belgrade on 11 October]

[Text] [Mihajlovic] Was it explained in the SFRY Presidency whether Federal Secretary Kadijevic had accepted the withdrawal of the Yugoslav People's Army from Croatia, as reported initially?

[Kostic] Kadijevic did not accept this, although pressure was exerted upon him and it was insisted that he do so. He said that only the SFRY Presidency can accept this, and he waited for today to inform Van den Broek about this. In connection with this, after the information that we were given, at today's session we stuck to everything that was agreed in the Hague on 4 [October] and to our decision that we adopted on 7 October. This essentially means that we categorically insist on the unconditional lifting of the blockades of the barracks in Croatia, on the cease-fire and the observation of the cease-fire, and on the withdrawal of these units and their regrouping on the territory of Croatia, or even their withdrawal to these parts of Yugoslavia.

However, we also categorically stick to our position that until a political solution has been found for the status of Serbs in Croatia, the Yugoslav People's Army must stay there to protect these people. Every other option would, objectively speaking, represent a horrible bloodshed and a new genocide for the people who are there.

[Mihajlovic] What does this mean in practical terms for today, for tomorrow, for the cease-fire?

[Kostic] This in fact means that today we informed Mr. Van den Broek and Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman in writing about our stands today, about our categorical insistence on this, and if after so many agreements and commitments that have been signed, Tudjman does not agree to lift the blockade of all barracks in Croatia and ensure a peaceful pullout of the men, then this, objectively speaking, means that we will have to make a decision on an offensive action by the Yugoslav People's Army with the only aim of lifting the blockade around the barracks by force and ensuring the pullout of both these units and the families of our officers there.

[Mihajlovic] Does this mean a new decision on mobilization, and will this decision apply to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia, considering that members of the SFRY Presidency from these republics are not taking part in the work of the Presidency, considering the decisions of their assembly organs?

[Kostic] We did not want to discuss these issues today, because we are trying to do everything we are doing in a peaceful way. Therefore, we did not mention the possibility of a general mobilization in the letter we sent. We simply do not want to threaten anybody or to create such an atmosphere. However, if Croatia does not finally accept the agreement that it had accepted in The Hague on 4 October and does not lift the blockade of these barracks, then we will have to order the Yugoslav People's Army to continue its offensive activities. We will have to sit down and discuss whether we will need a general mobilization.

[Mihajlovic] What is your explanation of the change in the attitude of the Yugoslav People's Army between 4 October and yesterday?

[Kostic] I do not think that there was a change in the attitudes of the Yugoslav People's Army, but a change and escalation, in the negative sense, in the views of some representatives, very responsible representatives, of the EC on the essence of clashes in Yugoslavia, on Croatia, on Serbia, and this part of Yugoslavia, and so forth. I think that attempts are being made persistently and systematically to arrive at a position to silently extinguish Yugoslavia and then to sit down and talk to the republics. It appears to me that the EC is making an extremely big mistake here, because today we have a de facto situation in which Yugoslavia exists as the only legitimate state, in which two republics have tried to secede from Yugoslavia with unilateral acts. If the EC continues to advocate this kind of approach, then Yugoslavia, as the only legitimate state on this territory, will most certainly seek the expansion of international involvement, be it within the CSCE or the United Nations. Regardless of the motives or reasons for behaving in such a way, the EC cannot ignore all the documents, ranging from the UN Charter to the Paris Charter and the CSCE Principles, and so forth, it cannot simply forget about them for a moment and try to carry out such a policy further.

[Mihajlovic] Does the present Presidency have a vision of how all this could end considering the unfavorable international circumstance that Europe is virtually not respecting the decisions of this Presidency, that it is threatening an economic blockade that could be catastrophic for parts of Yugoslavia or for Yugoslavia as a whole?

[Kostic] You see, even if the position and status and a possible tragedy that could happen to the Serbian people in Croatia were not in question, even if this problem did not exist, the very reason and the fact that over 25,000 people on the territory of Croatia, soldiers, members of the families of our officers, civilians working in the Yugoslav People's Army, those who have not rebelled so far, who have not revoked their loyalty to the Army, who surrendered and who have already gone, this is to say the people from this part of the country, this fact, from the point of view of our moral duty, our humane attitude toward the position of these people, would be a sufficient reason, if we cannot do it peacefully, to use all available means to free these people.

I do not have to remind you that England sent its entire war armada to the distant Falkland Islands for only

1,400 members of its nation. The world public and the EC not only viewed this calmly, but also gave open support to England for such an initiative. Therefore, I personally, for moral considerations, before myself, my own conscience, these people, and especially those people who are waiting for us to help them, could not accept any blackmail, even if it were an economic blockade that would obviously be serious and adverse.

[Mihajlovic] Mr. Kostic, we are facing a total war. Are you sure that both sides have done everything to prevent it? I am referring to the part that is present here in Belgrade?

[Kostic] I can say with full responsibility on behalf of the part that is present here in Belgrade that we have done everything possible to prevent the war. After all, the four of us [members of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia, Vojvodina, Kosovo, and Montenegro] will not be waging war with Croatian fighters. This will be done by the people who are ready and who wish, on the one hand, to help that section of the Serbian people over there who also feel a moral duty and obligation to free the 25,000 people who have been under a siege for more than two months and in this way make a human act and gesture.

If these people do not express such a readiness, then it is quite clear that our estimate here is probably based on erroneous assumptions. Therefore, if these people are not ready to mobilize themselves for these two aims, then the four of us will not declare war to Tudjman. You can be sure of that.

[Mihajlovic] And finally a short question. When do you expect you will know the outcome, that is, the answer to your letter to Tudjman?

[Kostic] Today we talked about whether to set any deadlines for the answer or to set a deadline for the observation of the cease-fire. Whether this will be at 1800 [1700 GMT] this afternoon or at 2400, at midnight, we have not set any deadlines in connection with this, but have envisaged the possibility of the Presidency meeting in Belgrade tomorrow afternoon in connection with this.

Kostic on Neo-Fascism in Croatia, Prospects

LD1110154191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Madrid, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the State Presidency of Yugoslavia Branko Kostic told the Madrid daily EL PAIS in an interview published on Friday he still had hope that "Yugoslavia will be able to exist in the present borders." "Of course, on the condition that the European Community (EC) does not accept the secessionist and unilateral acts of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia and Croatia," Kostic added.

"Peace is possible in Yugoslavia," but on the condition of a definite lifting of the blockades of Yugoslav army barracks in Croatia in order for soldiers and members of their families to be able to withdraw from them, Kostic said.

He added that the "army must remain in regions with a mixed population to act as an interposition force between the Serbian people and para-military Croatian formations."

"Meanwhile, at the conference in The Hague, a solution will be sought for Serbs living in Croatia," Kostic said. According to him, "solutions to the problem of internal borders and their possible correction must be sought through political dialogue."

It is difficult to conclude and maintain a ceasefire also because it does not suit Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Yugoslav State Presidency President Stjepan Mesic, Kostic said.

"In Croatia's ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Union, they represent the more moderate wing and if they accept the ceasefire, it could easily happen that they are replaced by radicals from the party," Kostic said.

"Europe must understand that neo-fascism is being born in Croatia. It must be stopped, otherwise it could knock on your doors too," Kostic said.

Asked what would happen with Yugoslavia if the EC implements the announced economic sanctions, Kostic said he did not believe that would happen, and if it did, "it is impossible to close all channels for economic cooperation."

Kostic said that, ultimately, "the people would be able to bear such a thing, even if they have to eat grass."

"However, if the EC imposes the sanctions, the crisis in Yugoslavia will deepen and there will be a general mobilization. In such a situation, the people will find their allies," Kostic said and recalled that in both the world wars, Yugoslavs were on the side of progessive Europe.

Sixth Lika Division Reportedly Being Formed

AU1210205991 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] We have learned from well-informed circles that the formation of the Sixth Lika Division is currently under way. Its ranks will be open to all volunteers who report to the unit, which is continuing the tradition of one of the most famous units of the Yugoslav Peoples' Liberation Army [of World War II].

The volunteers can sign up at registration points in Belgrade on telephone number 750-550, in Novi Sad on 611-277, in Sombor and Zrenjanin on 304-510, and in Ruma, Lazarevac, Valjevo and Mladenovac. After the registration and the relevant preparations have been carried out, all persons registered will be sent to the locations where this unit is carrying out its military tasks.

Presidency, Opposition Parties Adopt Peace Treaty

LD1310000791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2228 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—A round-table conference of the authorities and the opposition, held in Sarajevo today, adopted a draft treaty on peace for Yugoslavia. The document defines the principles for talks, which envisage for establishing responsibility for the conflicts and loss of life and property.

Today's conference was attended by representatives of parties and movements from the Yugoslav Republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro and Serbia and member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Bogic Bogicevic.

The conference was devoted to defining the status of the Yugoslav People's Army, the setting up of civilian control of all armed forces and demilitarization of society and the state.

The representatives of the authorities and the opposition agreed that Yugoslavia has for a year been in a state of undeclared war and that the aggressor has not been pinpointed.

Army Accuses Croatians of 'Using' Aid Convoy

LD1410005791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2345 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Oct (TANJUG)—Using the protection of a convoy bringing food and medicines to the surrounded Croatian fighters in Vukovar, members of the Croatian National Guard Corps and the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia carried out an artillery and tank attack today on an armored Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unit positioned in the area of the village of Marinci, the information service of the 1st Army District Command has stated tonight.

The YPA unit returned fire and destroyed five tanks, while the number of casualties on the Croatian side is unknown.

With the latest cease-fire violation, the statement concludes, the Ustasha fighters confirm that they do not care for peace, and that they used negotiations on the food convoy and the presence of the international mission to achieve their treacherous and dirty goals.

Army Suspends Dubrovnik Blockade Negotiations

LD1410020891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2253 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Herceg-Novi, Yugoslavia, Oct 13 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) is halting all further action to raise the blockade of Dubrovnik over the killing of a JNA member by Croatian snipers today, commander of the Navy Sector Boka Vice-Admiral Miodrag Jokic said this evening. Vice-Admiral Jokic said that Petar Medigovic, 30, from Petrovac, had been killed from ambush at Gruda, near Dubrovnik. Over this incident, the JNA has decided to suspended for the next 24 hours all further talks and reject all concessions made at the [word indistinct] of E.C. monitors, said Jokic.

JNA officials and official of the E.C. monitor mission Adrian Stinger had this morning reached concrete agreement to begin repair work on Dubrovnik's water and power supply systems.

Medigovic was not the only casualty in today's violations of the frail ceasefire in the crisis spots in Croatia. Croatian snipers killed Lt.-Col. Simo Marjanovic, 46, at Novska in Slavonija, and several soldiers were wounded in an attack by Croatian para-military forces on JNA units around Osijek.

Federal Government To Fire Absent Officials

LD1410161191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal officials who have been absent from work for more than seven days will be relieved of their duties and have their salaries withheld.

The Federal Executive Council today informed the SFRY Assembly of this and proposed that the Federal Assembly do the same. [passage omitted]

Presidency on Convention Protecting Journalists

LD1110180991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1634 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency today extended its support for an initiative by the Journalists' and Trade Union Organizations of Serbia for the adoption of a special convention on the protection of all Yugoslav and foreign reporters from the battlezones in the country.

The convention, which was formulated by the trade union and Association of Journalists of the biggest Yugoslav republic and the council of the republic's trade union organization, foresees protection of reporters 'in areas with an increased danger to the lives, health and property of journalists.'

Apart from the Presidency, the convention has, as announced today by the republican Association of Trade Unions, been sent for signing to the president of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, and the leaderdship of that Yugoslav republic, which is the scene of the conflict, the Federal Government and Parliament, the presidencies, governments and parliaments of all Yugoslav republics, as well as the leadership of the Army, and all other armed formations in the country.

Seventeen reporters are known to have been killed in Croatia since the fighting broke out, and two are still listed as missing.

Ambassador to Germany Resigns

LD1410174591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1244 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Excerpt] Bonn, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Professor Dr. Boris Frlec, Yugoslav ambassador to Bonn, announced today that he could no longer hold that post and that he had informed Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar of his decision.

In his statement to a TANJUG correspondent, Frlec said that "in view of the 2 October decision by the Slovene Assembly and of the development of events in the country, a situation has arisen that makes it impossible for me to discharge the duties of SFRY ambassador in keeping with my personal ethics, dignity, and convictions."

Frlec proposed to the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs "an agreed upon discontinuation of service within a period of time that will alow me to hand over my duties and settle my other commitments." [passage omitted]

Serbian, Montenegrin Presidents Meet in Belgrade

LD1410181791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, headed by Presidents Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, met in Belgrade today. SFRY Presidency members Branko Kostic and Borisav Jovic, as well as presidents of the national assemblies of Serbia and Montenegro Aleksandar Bakocevic and Risto Vukcevic, and republican Premiers Dragutin Zelenovic and Milo Djukanovic, participated in the meeting.

The meeting considered the current political situation and ways of resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis, as well as mutual relations and cooperation.

The statement stresses that it was assessed jointly that a political solution to the crisis can be reached on the basis of the principles adopted at the opening of the Hague conference but only under the condition that all sides abide by the principles and that they are applied fairly. The republics of Serbia and Montenegro hold that the Belgrade initiative, open to all republics and nations wanting to continue living together in Yugoslavia, represents a solid platform for regulating future relations in Yugoslavia.

The talks concentrated, in particular, on further advancement of mutual economic cooperation. It was assessed that it was necessary to secure more efficient use of the available industrial capacity, including better cooperation between enterprises based on economic interests.

The importance of joint investment in new development programs in the areas of energy industry, transport, tourism, agriculture, and other branches of common interest was underlined.

Slovenia

Slovenes To Start Paying Duties for Croatian Goods

AU1110221391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 10 Oct 91

[Robert Skerjanc report on news conference by Igor Bavcar, Slovene Minister of Internal Affairs, and Franc Kosir, director of Slovene Customs Office, held in Ljubljana on 10 October]

[Text] Beginning on 8 October at 0700 the 34 border crossings—27 interstate [meddrzaven] border crossings and eight railway crossings—on the Slovene-Croatian border opened. Although there were some problems, namely the border crossings have not been quite finished yet, it is hoped that they will soon begin their normal work. According to Igor Bavcar, minister of internal affairs, Slovenia is now waiting for the approval of the internationally recognized code [not further specified], which will be called SLO. Slovenia's passports have already been acknowledged by Italy, Austria, and united Germany.

Slovenia will also introduce new license plates. The plates, which will be exchanged gradually, will be designated according to 11 registration districts. It will also be possible to transfer license plates, which means that one could have the same license plates on all the cars one owns. To illustrate, after selling an old car one could transfer the license plates to the new car. Citizens will also be able to obtain personalized plates. However, such license plates will be more expensive. Franc Kosir, director of the Slovene Customs Directorate, spoke about crossing the Slovene-Croatian borders. Crossing this border is now treated like crossing over, for instance, the Slovene—Austrian border. It is also no longer possible to indiscriminately import goods from Croatia to Slovenia.

[Begin Kosir recording] Well, you are probably most interested in what will happen to the goods you will buy—excuse me, that we will buy in other republics, as I also sometimes go to other republics, you know—that is to say, goods that we will buy when visiting other republics.

Well, upon arriving at the border crossing the goods will have to be declared, a duty will be levied on the goods on the spot, and we will also immediately start investigating the origin of the goods. If the origin of the goods is from this republic or any other of our republics, only 1 percent of the customs [word indistinct] will be paid plus the basic value-added tax [temeljni prometni davek]. Therefore, this is a bit different than rules applying to companies, and really I think that we have to warn our citizens

about this so that they will not assume that the rules are the same as those companies, because companies are excused from paying this tax when duties are levied on them, later, of course, they will not be excused. Therefore, one will pay 1 percent of the customs [word indistinct] plus the basic value-added tax, that is to say, from now on we will call this the value-added tax. Concerning this tax, it varies, an average rate is about 20 percent, that is what I can say about it, but it does vary greatly. Well, some three to four rates are envisaged. The Republican Secretariat, excuse me, the Republican Ministry for Finance, has already prepared the new law on the value-added tax.

If a citizen is carrying goods of foreign origin, I will be precise, for instance if one is importing a Grunding television set, that is to say, if he buys one in Zagreb and then imports it, he will pay full [Slovene] customs duties. Because I know there will be many questions about cars, I must say the same applies for cars. Therefore, Tuesday, that is to say as of midnight Monday, is the end of the Zagreb option [reference to purchase of goods via Croatia, where the import duty is lower than in Slovenia]. That is to say, you can still buy cars in Zagreb or any other place, but there will be a border waiting for you, and you will have to also pay Slovene customs and all other Slovene import duties. [end recording]

Let us add that one can carry 1,000 German marks or the equivalent value in Slovene tolars abroad. Let us also remind you in connection with this that numerous Croatian citizens are trying to bring large sums of dinars to Slovenia. For this reason, the controls at the borders are very strict and anyone found bringing to Slovenia more dinars than is permitted — 1,200 dinars— will not be allowed to cross our border.

Kucan Says Slovenia's Freedom Acheived

LD1110221991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2007 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 11 (TANJUG)—The president of the Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kucan, today said that the republic had "gained freedom and independence" at the expiry of the three-month suspension of its independence bid.

According to Kucan, this is borne out by the fact that Slovenia has become a partner in the talks of European states on how to deal with the Yugoslav crisis. President Kucan added that Slovenia had been given "European borders" with the decision that the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) withdraw from the republic's territory.

Kucan expressed dissatisfaction with the republic being excluded from the Yugoslav monetary system and denied access to money and said that a "trade war against Slovenia and the plundering of Slovenian property are continuing."

The Brioni statement signed on July [words indistinct] Croatia and the federal authorities with the mediation of a mission of the European Community suspended the unilateral decisions of these republics to secede from Yugoslvia. The [words indistinct] respectively.

Slovenia has established its own currency, the tolar, and its own passports and customs.

Defense Officials Discuss YPA's Withdrawal

LD1210215491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegations of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Republic of Slovenia headed by Admiral Ljubivoje Jokic and Deputy Slovene Defense Minister Miran Bogataj held talks today regarding the withdrawal of the remaining Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] units from Slovenia.

According to a report carried by the Slovene Press Agency (STA), the Slovene side insisted that all property owned by the Territorial Defense of the Republic of Slovenia be returned to this republic, while the representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense insisted that all seized [YPA] property be returned to the Army. Slovene representatives also demanded that mines be removed from loaded convoys transporting YPA equipment and that they receive a guarantee that they would not attack members and its technical equipment.

The delegation of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, according to STA, persevered in its demand that all remaining YPA units on Slovene territory should withdraw together with military equipment and expressed its readiness to leave some military equipment in the Republic of Slovenia. This primarily referred to the military hospital.

On the other hand, the Slovene delegation guaranteed the safe and speedy withdrawal of the YPA members from Slovenia via the port of Kopar, but remained true to its stand that military equipment should remain in Slovenia until an agreement has been reached on how to divide the property.

Authorities Offer Safe Conduct Guarantees

LD1310024491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2313 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—Authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia this evening offered to the Federal Defence Ministry guarantees for safe conduct of the personnel of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) from Slovenia via the Adriatic port of Koper, reports the Slovenian News Agency STA.

Slovenian officials insisted, however, that the materiel be left behind in Slovenia until a formal division of property. The STA reports that the Slovenian side insisted on an immediate restoration of all materiel of

the republican territorial defence, and the Army, on the return of all confiscated YPA property.

The STA reports that the Slovenian officials asked also for defusing the booby-traps on the trains loaded with YPA materiel and offered guarantees that the YPA personnel and materiel would not be attacked.

Croatia

Croatia Said To Seek Nuclear Arms From S. Africa

AU1410184291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Tudjman Receiving Nuclear Weapons—That is the headline in today's VECERNJE NOVOSTI in connection with the information that Croatia and South Africa have agreed to produce nuclear missiles. The paper learned from the Ruder Boskovic Institute that a group of physicists has received the order from Banski Dvori to work on technological solutions for small-scale nuclear arms. Ivic notes that Hrvoje Sarlic, one of Tudjman's aides, was given the special mission to use illegal connections in South Africa to obtain the materials for producing nuclear arms, which Croatia lacks.

Separovic Says Federal Army Seeks 'All-Out' War

LD1110220591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2003 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] London, October 11 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Zvonimir Separovic told a press conference here on Friday that the "Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] is preparing for an all-out war" against the Republic of Croatia. Separovic described today's denial by the Yugoslav Defence Secretariat that an agreement on the YPA's withdrawal from Croatia was signed in The Hague yesterday as "another proof that the Army is preparing for an all-out war against Croatia."

President of the EC Ministerial Council Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van den Broek said in The Hague yesterday that an understanding on the YPA's withdrawal from Croatia was reached in negotiations with Yugoslav Defence Secretary General Veljko Kadijevic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjma.

The Federal Defence Secretariat's information service said today that "no agreement, including one on the YPA's withdrawal from the territory of Croatia, was signed in The Hague yesterday."

Separovic arrived in London earlier today to request "support for Croatia's independence," the Croatian office in Great Britain stated.

Greguric: Bulgaria To Recognize Croatia's Independence

LD1110232691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2133 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Sofia, October 11 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Bulgaria is prepared to recognize the Republic of Croatia as soon as the necessary international conditions for this are created.

This was said in a statement issued here today in connection with a visit to Sofia by Croatian Premier Franjo Greguric and his talks with Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitar Popov.

The statement points out that the two prime ministers uphold the decisions made at The Hague conference and all other international efforts for a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis.

Popov and Greguric stressed the traditionally good relations between the Bulgarian and Croat peoples, and agreed to further promote political, cultural and econtmic relations as well as those in the sphere of public information.

In particular, the statement says, agreement was reached on the opening of a Bulgarian office in Zagreb and a Croatian office in Sofia to give an "impulse to the development of cooperation," and on the formation of Croatian-Bulgarian friendship societies in the two capitals.

Foreign Minister Briefs Envoys on Independence

LD1310162691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Dr. Zvonimir Separovic and Vice Prime Minister Dr. Mate Granic today received the consular corps accredited in Zagreb for a brieing on the Sabor decisions on the proclamation of the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and on the current political situation. Dr. Granic briefed those present on the content of the letter the Croatian prime minister will send tomorrow to the prime ministers of most countries in the world inviting them to start procedures in their countries for the recognition of the Republic of Croatia.

On relations with foreign embassies in Belgrade, Dr. Separovic stressed that the documents by those embassies had an affect only if they recognized the existence of the independent and sovereign Republic of Croatia. At the same time all Yugoslav ambassadors abroad who do not heed the interests of the Republic of Croatia are deprived of the right to represent us, said Separovic.

On behalf of the consular corps, Italian Consul Salvatore Cilento expressed the hope that all the aspirations of all Yugoslav nations will be fulfilled.

After the reception the consuls saw the effects of the attack on Banski Dvori and on the Foreign Ministry building.

Government Discusses Hague Negotiating Stance

LD1310173591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] At its session yesterday, presided over by Dr. Franjo Greguric, the government of the Republic of Croatia discussed draft standpoints that the Croatian representatives will advocate at the next session of the conference on Yugoslavia at The Hague.

The government members supported the main principles of the conference's work so far—primarily the principle of respect for the internal borders between the republics in Yugoslavia and the withdrawal of Yugoslav Army units from the Republic of Croatia. The government's attitude to the rights of national communities and minorities in the Republic of Croatia is based on the principles of the United Nations, the Paris Charter, and the CSCE declaration and implies guarantees for national and other basic rights and freedoms of citizens as envisaged by the constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

In their conduct, Croatia's representatives must respect the fact that our republic has become an independent and sovereign state with some of its parts still in the grip of an aggressive war. Objectively this hampers the adoption of relevant legal documents on this sensitive issue. However, there are no obstacles for adopting them in due course by relying on the best European criteria in this area.

The government also discussed a draft proposal of an agreement on the method of payment between the Republics of Croatia and Slovenia which states that as of 8 October all transactions will be in either their own currencies or in convertible currencies according to each country's law.

The government once again expressed concern at the detention by the aggressor forces and the Yugoslav Army of its member Mr. Muhamed Zulic, who is still in prison. Both the government as a whole and its individual ministries have done their utmost to secure the release of Minister Zulic. To this end necessary contacts have been established and protests lodged against this intolerable act.

Sid, Ilok Officials Agree on Surrender Conditions

LD1410183991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1724 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sid, October 14 (TANJUG)—The military command in Sid and the local authorities in Ilok agreed in the presence of E.C. monitors today on the conditions of the surrender of Croatian para-military formations in Ilok.

The local authorities in Ilok, a town located on the Croatian side of the Danube, have obliged themselves to remove the minefields by 07:00 hours local time on October 17.

In the meantime, as agreed, all citizens and members of the Croatian Interior Ministry and other Croatian forces in Ilok will be able to hand over arms to the Yugoslav People's Army units at the May 25 Bridge on the Danube, provided they have not committed any crimes. Those who hand over arms will form a convoy and will be free to leave Ilok at 13:00 hours local time on October 17.

The convoy, as agreed by the two sides, will be supervised by members of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and of the Croatian Interior Ministry so as to eliminate any doubts and any possibility of armed men or criminals mingling with the convoy.

The agreement was signed by Gen. Dragoljub Arandjelovic, on behalf of the military command, and by town Mayor Ivan Mrsic and police station Commander Mato Brletic, on behalf of Ilok.

Ministry Discovers 'Terrorist Spy Group'

LD1410195791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Following several months of investigation, the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry's service for protecting constitutional order has uncovered a terrorist spy group and arrested a certain number of people under suspicion that they were carrying out organized terrorist and spying actions, the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry revealed this evening. The group was organized by the second detachment of the security service of the Air Force and Antiaircraft Command of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army [YPA]. Some members of the group were employees of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry, Defense Ministry, and other administrative bodies of the Republic of Croatia, and some are retired policemen. A group of 62 people was uncovered, including some out of reach of prosecution because they are outside the Republic of Croatia. The others were arrested. Material evidence substantiates the suspicion that the group had the task of preparing and carrying out terrorist actions, particularly in Zagreb. This latest discovery proves that the so-called YPA, through its counterintelligence service, is directly involved in overturning the constitutional-legal system and the democratic government in the Republic of Croatia, this evening's Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry statement concludes.

Federal Army Continues Evacuation From Zadar

LD1210161891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1359 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, October 12 (TANJUG)—Three days after the agreement between the command of the Knin Corps of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Zadar authorities, there is peace on the whole of the Dalmatian front. There are individual incidents to which no one pays any special attention.

Thanks to this short ceasefire, the evacuation of all military effectives from the Zadar garrison is being carried out unhindered.

Along with this, organizational and other preparations are under way for the evacuation of the families of Army members from Zadar. A certain number of Zadar inhabitants also wish to leave the town while others wish to return.

The interrupted negotiations on the exchange of prisoners of war will be continued on Monday.

Democratic Action: Minister's Arrest 'Barbarous Act'

LD1210210991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] The Party of Democratic Action for Croatia [SDA] has described the arrest of Muhamed Zulic, a minister in the government of Croatia, during his tour of the battlefields of Banija, as a barbarous act without precedent. The SDA says that the act has exposed the bestiality of a policy nearing its shameful defeat. The SDA calls for the minister's immediate release and reiterates Prime Minister Franjo Greguric's statement that his minister was captured by the Army and that General Uzelac's intention was to detain him in Banjaluka.

Agreement on Departure of Humanitarian Aid Convoy

LD1410064391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] The convoy carrying humanitarian aid for Vukovar inhabitants, who for days has been cut off and subjected to constant attacks by the aggressor, will leave the barracks for the town at 0800 [0700 GMT]. Its return with injured people from Vukovar has been agreed on for 1300 [1200 GMT].

Journalists were told this last night by Croatian Army Colonel Imre Agotic upon the conclusion of his talks with General Andrija Raseta, representing the occupying Army and EC observers. He added that there was no longer any fear about the convoy spending the night in the Vukovar barracks, and that the convoy will complete its humanitarian objective. The Croatian side, Agotic went on to say, has established contact with EC observers, who guaranteed the convoy safety during the night, and also that no fire will be opened from the barracks.

Convoy Remains at Barracks

LD1410114491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1049 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, October 14 (TANJUG)—A convoy bringing food and medical supplies for the Croatian forces and the population of Vukovar is still in the Vukovar barracks, TANJUG learns. Military sources claim that the convoy arrived in the barracks last night and that, as agreed, it should pass this afternoon into the part of the city which is controlled by Croatian forces.

The barracks is located in a part of the city which has been taken by the federal Army and Serbian territorial units.

Sources close to the command of the Yugoslav Army unit in Vukovar claim that the command of the Croatian guard in that city is obstructing the agreement about the entry of the convoy into the zone which is controlled by Croatian forces, threatening that fire would be opened.

Croatian Radio reports that Croatian forces Colonel Imre Agotic said, following talks with Yugoslav Army General Andrija Raseta and observers of the European Community in Zagreb, that the convoy should enter Vukovar today and that it should leave that city at 13:00 hrs local time, evacuating the wounded.

The command of the first military district of the Yugoslav Army, which is based in Belgrade and controls also parts of the eastern Croatian region of Slavonia, last night said that the convoy was stopped from entering Vukovar on Saturday because weapons, ammunition and bombs had been discovered among the medicines and food.

The peace mission members who were escorting the convoy of 67 vehicles of the Republic of Croatia were also witness to this.

Convoy Returned to Vinkovci

LD1410165191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Osijek, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—Sources close to the command of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] unit stationed in the Osijek area today told a TANJUG reporter that the convoy with humanitarian aid for Vukovar returned to Vinkovci because the Croatian side did not allow the trucks to pass through.

According to these sources, the Croatian side did not agree to permit the convoy through to the part of the city under the control of the Croatian forces because they would have to clear the mine fields on the road.

"SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic said in Zagreb today that the Croatian side opposed the planned convoy route, and this was one of the reasons the convoy had been sent back.

Last night, the convoy reached the Vukovar barracks located in the part of the city already conquered by the Army and the territorial defense.

Military authorities have not yet issued any statement on the convoy's movement, and there is also no news on the fate of part of the YPA unit that remained in the Borongaj barracks outside Zagreb and whose further evacuation is linked with the convoy's arrival in Vukovar.

No Agreement on Convoy

LD1410211191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—"The convoy with humanitarian aid for Vukovar, which was returned today when it had almost reached its destination, will not even attempt to get through to the city tomorrow.

"A solution for the convoy was not found even after four attempts," said Imre Agotic, member of the Supreme Command of the Croatian Army this evening.

According to Agotic, there is a proposal to "help the injured in Vukovar by organizing some other international action, most likely using transport helicopters of some third country."

Asked what he thought of the proposal, General Andrija Raseta replied that he knew nothing about it. Raseta said that a delegation of the Yugoslav People's Army and the Croatian Army "reached no agreement" during today's three-hour meeting in the seat of the EC observer mission in Zagreb.

Croatian Envoy Will Not Negotiate Convoy Attempt

LD1410102991 Zagreb Radio Croatian Network in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Negotiations between Croatian and Yugoslav Army representatives in the presence of EC monitors will continue today in Zagreb. At the end of yesterday's session, the Croatian representative, Colonel Imre Agotic, said that he would not negotiate a fourth attempt for the relief convoy to enter Vukovar today. Instead, another solution would be sought to evacuate the wounded. Agotic suggested the possibility of using a transport helicopter belonging to a third country, but added that both technical and (?social) problems existed with this proposal. The Croatian news agency HINA reports that today the Croatian side will raise the problem of the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army from eastern Slavonia.

General Raseta, however, has said that he would not discuss this today and that today's agenda would include the dismantling the blockade of army barracks in Croatia.

Simon Smits, the EC representative, commented that he considers the passage of the convoy to Vukovar as the most important issue in these talks. Reporters were also told that the Borongaj barracks in Zagreb will remain blockaded until the Vukovar problem is solved.

Humanitarian Aid Convoy Stopped Near Zagreb

LD1210193191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1713 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Zagreb, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—The front part of a convoy of vehicles which was leaving the Dusan Corkovic barracks in Borongay in Zagreb was stopped on a road outside the city. The convoy consists of approximately 50 vehicles, while the remaining part of the unit, consisting of nearly 200 vehicles, has not yet left Borongaj.

General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Army District, said that a previously planned maneuver is at work here, and mentioned the word blackmail. At a news conference in Zagreb this afternoon, Gen. Raseta stated that there is a danger of an attack on the convoy being carried out during the night, and speaking about that he said the defensive capability of the convoy is not great.

Raseta said today that he does not know why the Croatian authorities stopped the humanitarian aid convoy that should have reached Vukovar. That convoy should have left at 0730 GMT on Saturday morning, but left much later, and it will reach the Yugoslav People's Army units around 1530 GMT, when, because of the weather conditions and the dark, it will not be possible to inspect the convoy. The command nevertheless decided to allow the convoy to pass, even after a decision had been made by the EC mission to leave the humanitarian aid convoy.

Gen. Raseta said that the Croatian authorities linked the passage of the humanitarian aid convoy to Vukovar with the Yugoslav People's Army convoy leaving the barracks in Borongaj. He said that a demand would be put forward that all open issues be clarified at a meeting with representatives of the Croatian Army authorities at the seat of the EC observer mission in Hotel I, which will be held this evening.

Tudjman: Barracks Blockade Until Convoy Delivered

LD1310202491 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] The remaining Army units at the Bornogaj barracks will not be allowed to leave until the food and medicine convoy is in the right hands; i.e. with those for whom it was intended. This was said during talks between Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Croatian Vice President Mate Granic. A statement to this effect has been issued by the Information Ministry.

'Poisonous' Gas Grenade Reportedly Used in Vukovar

LD1210005391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] All day today the enemy has been firing all sorts of weapons at Vukovar and Borovo Naselje from its strongholds in Petrova Gora and Backa, while explosions could be heard throughout the town. One of the grenades contained poisonous gases. Courageous defenders of Vukovar repulsed two enemy attempts to seize Vukovar and Borovo Naselje this afternoon. One enemy tank was destroyed. The Vukovar hospital received 27 wounded people.

Imported Radio Stations, Arms Found in Baranja

AU1310165491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Ratko Stevic report]

[Excerpt] There is no peace around Osijek and in Baranja. Guardsmen and members of the [Croatian] Ministry of Internal Affairs do not for a moment want to give up the suicidal attacks against the territorials and members of the Yugoslav People's Army, although they have not been provoked. All last night and today the Croatian side was shooting from mortars and artillery weapons that they have recently taken away from the Army or have been given by their helpers from Austria, Germany, and Hungary.

They were shooting from the well-known Ustasha strongholds in (?Nemetin), Nova Tenja, Ernestinovo, Tenjski Antunovac, and Osijek. Serbian villages near Osijek and in Baranja were showered with fire. That fire was also responded to with fire. The damage is great on both sides. About 10 people have been killed and about 20 wounded. Last night and today, guardsmen attacked particularly fiercely from Osijek, but the response from Baranja and Tenja was even fiercer. The local radio has admitted that the damage is great, but also that the Army has been obeying the truce and that it failed to react in the case of these mutual mortar attacks. There have been several explosions in Osijek but the perpetrators are so far unknown. The damage is great.

Enraged because they have fewer and fewer people volunteering to join the so-called Croatian armed forces, the authorities of the Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] and the Osijek Crisis Headquarters are increasingly filling up the temporary prisons in the Zrinjevac Sports Hall and the Brothers Gustin Elementary School in Josipovac with Croatians and Serbs. These temporary prisons have long been full of Serbs who are kept hostage there and who have been caught at their homes, at their work places, in their cars, or on public transportation. Certain Serbs are being taken away to unknown destinations every day, so it is small wonder that the Croatians cannot exchange all the people the Serbs are asking for.

There have been fewer and fewer real armed clashes in Baranja, but an espionage intelligence war is still under way. Croatian terrorists brought in from Hungary are being caught every day at their accessories' homes. However, their helpers are fewer and fewer, because today alone Baranja territorials have found about 30 radio stations in the border region provided to them by the CDC authorities. Of course, the radio stations were provided with the latest weapons and explosive devices. [passage omitted]

'Enemy' Bombs Vukovar; 500 Federal Troops Killed

LD1310171191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] Throughout the morning the enemy fiercely attacked Vukovar in an attempt to prevent the humanitarian aid convoy from reaching the town. In addition to attacks from Backa and other terrorist strongholds around Vukovar, enemy aircraft also joined in this criminal action by dropping two 250-kg bombs of great destructive force on Borovo Naselje. The hospital and the densely populated area of the town again came under very fierce attack.

Over the last four days 500 enemy infantry soldiers were killed at the Vukovar front. Their bodies can still be seen on the battlefields. News about them has also reached Serbia and that is probably why about 30 percent of Serbian reservists sent to Vukovar to fight disappear or escape along the road from Sid to Vukovar. Vukovar was hit today by about 2,000 shells.

Army Completes Withdrawal From Bokanjac Barracks

LD1310163591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Excerpt] In accordance with the agreement concluded three days between the city authorities and the Croatian Army and the representatives of the Knin Corps and the garrison stationed in Zadar, the enemy army withdrawal continued this morning. Today, the third day of withdrawal by the Yugoslav Army, the military pulled out completely from Bokanjac Barracks No. 1 and the so-called Konjusnica cavalry barracks, handing them over to the Croatian Army.

The Croatian flag is now flying at these Army facilities.

According to the withdrawal plan, the same can be expected tomorrow at the Sepurina missile base near Zadar, although the complete withdrawal from Sepurina could take longer because of the amount of military hardware stationed in that base. [passage omitted]

Agreement Reached on Handover of Karlovac Barracks

LD1310191391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] An agreement on the handover of barracks and military facilities in the town of Karlovac was signed there today. According to the agreement, officers, soldiers and civilians working for the Yugoslav People's Army will temporarily move to barracks in Gornje Mekusje, taking their personal weapons and equipment, including undamaged vehicles for the transportation of soldiers and passenger vehicles belonging to owners in the barracks. Before leaving the barracks, all that is being left will be inspected. Territorial Defense weapons will be checked as well as war reserves. The Karlovac crisis center said the Army will help evacuate the residents of

Vukmanic, surrounded by Serbian outlaws, where nine corpses were found and brought to Karlovac today.

Croatia Threatens Fire on Unannounced Army Flights

LD1310231691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] In connection with the overflight of four or six aircraft over Jastrebarsko and Zagreb today, the operational center of the main headquarters of the Croatian army has issued a warning to the General Staff of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army that in the future fire will be opened on every aircraft on an unannounced flight.

Federal Army Accused of Deliberate Arms Destruction

LD1410005291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 13 Oct 91

[Text] In connection with an explosion and fire at a Yugoslav People's Army ammunition dump in Ostarje, near Ogulin, and at a dump near Rijeka, the main headquarters of the Crotian Army has warned the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army about the fact that these fires were caused deliberately, in order to destroy ammunition and other equipment in these dumps.

Fifteen soldiers fled the dump in Ostarje, and according to them the fire and explosions were deliberately caused by officers—in other words by commanders of the dumps, the main Headquarters says. The dump commanders did not think of the possible consequences of the deliberate destruction of ammunition and other equipment, the huge ecological catastrophe and possible material damage, the main headquarters stresses, concluding that the Yugoslav Army's obvious intention is to destroy ammunition and equipment which it will not be able to transport, to make sure that the ammunition and equipment does not fall into the hands of the Croatian army.

Slavonia, Baranja, Accept Special Status

LD1410165491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1438 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Dalj, 14 Oct (TANJUG)—I am satisfied with last week's Paris talks, and it seems to me that the EC, nevertheless, showed some understanding, Goran Hadzic, prime minister of the Serbian region of Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem, told TANJUG today.

There we presented our firm and adamant views of our future, Hadzic said. We and Krajina representatives were not in a position to improvise, to try to reach an agreement, because our people, the Serbs living in Croatia, expressed their will in a referendum, and we could not depart from that for a single moment. We explained to our collocutors in Paris that we hoped they would convey our views to the EC.

We can accept special status, but special status within Yugoslavia, not within Croatia, Hadzic stressed. It is irrelevant what representatives of Krajina and Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem would accept, but now it is clear that this would not be accepted by the people itself. The signing of such an agreement in Paris, according to Hadzic, would not make sense nor would it have any purpose.

We agreed to a new meeting on 17 October, and we expect that the situation will be much clearer then. The EC is now offering us special status within Croatia. This is something, according to Hodzic, but it cannot be satisfactory for us in any sense. I hope, Hadzic said, that the EC will understand that the only way out of this situation is the end of the war, that the Serbian people in Krajina—not as they say in Croatia—proclaim their separation, and that they want to be recognized as a constituent part of Yugoslavia, i.e. Europe. We can accept a special status within Europe, within Yugoslavia, but never within the Republic of Croatia.

Army Closes In on Croatians in Lipik, Pakrac

AU1410174491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Oct 91

[By Zeljko Mandicv from Pakrac]

[Text] Great battles for Lipik were waged yesterday and today. The forces of the Yugoslav People's Army, which are participating in this battle and closely cooperating with territorials, have squeezed the Croatian fighters in Lipik into the ruins of the former Hotel Lipik and down manholes and sewer pipes of the town's sewage system. According to some reports, about 100 members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs are still under total siege, completely cut off and probably forgotten by those who had given them orders.

In the cellars of the almost completely liberated town of Lipik, western Slavonian territorials and members of the Yugoslav People's Army have been finding civilians of all nationalities and transferring them to liberated territory.

According to reports available today, while battles around Pakrac continue, about 40 Croat women, children, and old people have been evacuated from the crossfire there. Members of the Territorial Defense transferred them to the liberated territory and then, as they requested, let them go to the village of Badljevina.

Incessant street battles are being waged in Pakrac. Croatian fighters are holding only a small part of the town, as well as the villages of Prekopakra, Klisa, Stari Majur, Novi Majur, Markovac, and Filipovac where they are firmly entrenched. One should add, however, that this is less than 10 percent of the territory of the commune.

As we are reporting, Ustashas are trying to carry out an infantry attack on the Yugoslav People's Army in Bujavica, but these attempts have so far been unsuccessful.

The survivors among the citizens of Pakrac and Lipik who failed to escape in time are witnessing Ustasha tyranny, wild doings, harassment of innocent people, physical maltreatment and threats to children, women, and old people. Wild, destructive searches of houses and apartments, and assaults on old people continue, particularly those known by the local Ustasha to be participants in the national liberation struggle.

There was fighting yesterday and last night in Nova Gradiska and the Okucani region as well. It was particularly bad during the night when there were several artillery attacks by members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs on the positions of the Yugoslav People's Army and territorials between Nova Gradiska and Stara Gradiska. Combined artillery and infantry attacks were directed from Prvca, Poljane, Masic, Cernik, and Kovacevac. (?Liberated) villages of Medari, Dragalic, and Donji Bogicevci have also been attacked.

Since yesterday, strong artillery fire has been directed at Novska from the direction of Rajic, Jasenovac, and Bair.

Navy To Clear Mines From Kastel Bay

LD1410174191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Members of the Croatian Navy will start clearing mines and mine obstructions from Kastel Bay today. While operations are under way, weather permitting, all sea traffic and shipping will be halted between Marjana Point and Ciova Point. The time of these operations will be announced every day via the Croatian radio station in Split. In exceptional cases, vessels will be allowed to sail, but with restrictions in accordance with radio statement number 238.

Vukovar Shelled by Army; 250 Soldiers Dead

LD1510075591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] The plight of the town of Vukovar continues. All (?three) attempts to get humanitarian aid there have failed. According to the official report of the EC monitors, an agreement on ensuring the safe passage of the convoy was not reached, so the vehicles returned to Vinkovci.

In the meantime, the town has been heavily shelled, especially after the convoy left the area and the Army took certain new positions in the Vukovar sports center, where it used heavy artillery.

The attacks coming from (Miroslavci), Petrova Gora, and Backa are intensifing. (?Moreover, the private) hospital has received another 24 injured, with one person dead on arrival.

The defenders of Vukovar have managed to destroy four enemy tanks; 250 Army soldiers have been killed.

Shelling Continues in Nova Gradiska

LD1510091591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0616 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Bosanska Gradiska, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—There was no peace overnight again in Western Slavonia near Nova Gradiska. Artillery shelling continued from positions occupied by Croatian forces. Mortar shells were also fired at Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] positions around the villages of Masic, Dragalic, and Poljana and positions of the YPA and the territorials near Stara Gradiska.

Only once did the YPA and the territorials respond to provocations by Croatian para-military forces. Over the last few days, neither the YPA nor the territorials were first to provoke a clash.

[Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0705 GMT on 15 October reports: "Nova Gradiska came under artillery attack again last night at around 6 PM. Mortars fired from Masicka Sagovina and Dragalic hit several buildings in the city. This was the seventh night that Yugoslav Army forces have attempted to engage Croatian forces by opening fire.]

For over 24 hours, the region of Bosanska Gradiska has been quiet. No fighting has been reported in the vicinity of Jasenovac either, but small-scale clashes did occur in the region of Novska.

Serbia

Jovanovic Discusses Croatian Conflict

AU1210160791 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2100 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Robert Hochner in Vienna; Jovanovic statements in Serbo-Croatian with simultaneous German translation —live]

[Text] [Hochner] Good evening, Minister Jovanovic. You made a remarkable statement today. You said that Serbia is not waging a war against Croatia. Not a single Serbian soldier is on Croatian territory. In your view, who is trying to conquer part of Croatia, if not Serbia?

[Jovanovic] In my view, no one is trying to conquer Croatia. I only see that Croatia, the Croatian Government, is waging a war against part of its population, the Serbian population, who have been living on this territory for centuries. This war was started to force these people to accept the new government, a government that uses old Ustasha symbols. This government, together with the Croatian people who have decided to live in this country, is trying to force these people to leave Yugoslavia. After the decision by the Croatian people to form

an independent state, the Serbian population replied with their own decision—namely to remain loyal to the Yugoslav state and not to leave this state.

[Hochner] Mr. Jovanovic, it is true that Serbia's interest in the fate of the 600,000 Serbs in Croatia is justified. Nevertheless, I would like you to answer the following question: Is the concern about the fate of the Serbian population not an excuse for leveling Croatian-dominated towns like Vukovar? Is this the right method to ensure the interests of the Serbians in an independent Croatia?

[Jovanovic] We are talking about part of the Croatian territory where the Serbian people represent a majority and where legal and illegal Croatian forces appeared all of a sudden. Their task was to subjugate these people and to force them to leave Yugoslavia. Vukovar is a town where the Serbian people represent the majority. Vukovar was fortified by the Croatian Armed Forces and served as a bastion for attacks on the Serbian people. The reply to these attacks was the neutralization of the bases of the Croatian forces in Vukovar in order to prevent damage to the neighboring Serbian villages.

[Hochner] Minister Jovanovic, it is obvious that Serbia is very concerned about the right to self-determination of the Serbs in Croatia—in its own way. However, at the same time your government denies the Albanians in Kosovo any right to self-determination. This triggered the explosive situation that prompted Slovenia and Croatia to secede from Yugoslavia.

[Jovanovic] These are two completely different things. The Yugoslav Constitution and the instruments of international law, and the political documents of the CSCE distinguish clearly between the right of the peoples and nations to self-determination and the right of ethnic minorities to protection, which includes the preservation, cultivation, and the development of the ethic, cultural, and religious identity of these minorities. All Yugoslav peoples—no matter in what part of Yugoslavia they live—have the status of nations and, therefore, the right to self-determination in case they decide to secede from Yugoslavia. If this had not happened, there would have been no need to use this right to self-determination. The Albanians in Kosovo are an ethnic minority, but not a nation. They have a national state, the republic of Albania. In Yugoslavia they represent an ethnic minority, both on the basis of the Yugoslav Constitution and on the basis of all peace agreements concerning the Balkan region. As a minority they enjoy protection.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, one last question. Serbia has always said that it considers preserving Yugoslavia as a state most important. By clearly taking over power in the Yugoslav State Presidency, which is now dominated by the Serbs, by turning the Yugoslav People's Army into a Serbian Army, and by sending this Army to Croatia—has Serbia in reality not done more to destroy Yugoslavia as a single state than Slovenia and Croatia have done by trying to achieve independence?

[Jovanovic] In this question, the word Serbia appears much too often. This may suggest that this question is not based on facts but only on one qualifying aspect. I would like to remind you of the fact that the representatives of Slovenia and Croatia have for months, above all in recent months, done everything in their power to paralyze the functions of the federal institutions, including the Federal Parliament, the Federal Government, the Federal Army, and, of course, the Federal State Presidency, which is a collective body, as you know. At the very moment when there was the danger that Yugoslavia would be left without any functioning federal institution in this critical situation, because the members of the State Presidency from Slovenia and Croatia pursued an obstructionist, aggressive policy, the remaining members of the Presidency started making decisions that were aimed at preventing the total paralysis of the federation and were intended to allow the Presidency to act as the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Army, because there was the immediate danger of war.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, hasn't Serbia—and I mean Serbia—totally isolated itself internationally because of its policy, including its policy regarding the Army? Even the United States, which backed Yugoslavia as a single state for a long time—longer than the European countries, including Austria—has clearly called Serbia the aggressor in this conflict. Isn't there a danger that while you may gain ground in this war in Croatia, you may lose politically?

[Jovanovic] First, Serbia does not intend to win any territory—not from anyone, not even from Croatia. Serbia does not have any territorial claims and does not pursue an expansionist policy. Serbia is merely forced to (?deal) with the consequences of a unilateral secession, which was carried out first by Slovenia and then by Croatia in an aggressive way, against Yugoslavia's legal order and against all federal institutions and, finally, by the use of force against the Yugoslav People's Army itself. Therefore, the aggression originates from the sides that have committed themselves to destroy their own state, Yugoslavia, from the sides that have subordinated everything else to this goal and have even mounted an unprecedented propaganda campaign that has replaced the political goals and has shown an entirely different picture of who the aggressor and who the victim are.

[Hochner] Mr. Minister, I thank you very much for your visit to our studio and wish your country a peaceful solution, despite the obviously very deep differences.

[Jovanovic] Thank you, we are convinced that such a solution will be found.

Serbian Minister Opposes Army Leaving Krajina

LD1110141191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Knin, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The statement by Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek in The

Hague yesterday that the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] will leave the Republic of Croatia within one month has been commented on by Lazar Macura, information minister in the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, as follows:

"That is the view of Van den Broek, not the army. The army is only relocating, and we have no objection to their leaving Croatia. For us," Macura stressed, "territorial solutions mad during the years of communist rule are not valid. Therefore," Macura concluded, "the Army can leave Croatia, but not Krajina."

Payments to Slovenia Temporarily Suspended

LD1310093991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1559 GMT 12 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 12 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia has decided to temporarily suspend all payment operations with the Republic of Slovenia as of October 7.

The decision was made by the Social Accounting and Auditing Service (SDK) and the National Bank of Serbia after the Slovenian parliament on October 7 decided that the republic would no longer be part of the Yugoslav monetary system and that it would introduce its own currency, the tolar.

In a statement carried by the Belgrade daily POLITIKA today, SDK Deputy Director Stanko Ivkovic said Serbia had opted for the move "because the country's highest monetary institution, the National Bank of Yugoslavia, has issued no instructions as to the procedures in the newly created situation".

Ivkovic also said that "Slovenia is now hastily repaying its debts to Serbia so as to owe it as little as possible when the Yugoslav republic come to balancing their accounts and transferring their dinar debts into foreign currency equivalents".

If this practice continues, he warned, "Serbia might find itself in a position to owe more to Slovenia than what Slovenia would owe to it".

Defense Minister Simovic Addresses Reserve Officers

AU1110155291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Lieutenant General Tomislav Simovic, defense minister of the Republic of Serbia, today addressed reserve officers and businessmen in Gornji Milanovic on the military and political situation in the world and country. Zivko Perisic reports:

[Perisic] Speaking about the war situation in the country, the Serbian defense minister said that the current Yugoslav crisis is the consequence of the persistent and aggressive secessionist behavior by the Croatian authorities. The Croatian authorities are using such aggression against Serbian people who live within the administrative borders of the Republic of Croatia to try to impose solutions that disregard elementary human and civil rights and freedoms and the universally recognized right to self-determination. The precondition for any quest for a political solution to the crisis and the success of the peace and diplomatic actions is the urgent and unconditional lifting of blockades around army barracks and garrisons, and a halt to all armed actions against the army and the Serbian people in Croatia.

Answering numerous questions, General Simovic said that Vukovar, where numerous shelters have been built, could have been liberated a long time ago, but this would have resulted in enormous civilian casualties. He stressed it was necessary that the citizens of Serbia should respond to mobilization and prevent the slaughter of Serbs in Croatia. At present, there is a particular need for drivers to pull out military equipment from Slovenia and Croatia.

At the end, General Simovic visited the Takovo agricultural-industrial combine. At present he is holding talks with reserve officers and businessmen in Cacak.

Serbian Court Sentences Deserters to Prison

LD1210072991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0917 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Nis, 11 Oct (TANJUG)—The military court in Nis has found guilty and sentenced six soldiers from Leskovac who left their units stationed in the crisis areas in Croatia.

Three deserters were sentenced to six months of imprisonment, two to five months, and one to one month.

Colonel Veljko Milic, president of the Nis military court, revealed that all six soldiers were returned first to Yugoslav People's Army units to continue their military service.

Serbian Red Cross Cited on Refugee Numbers

LD1210045991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Text] Belgrade, October 11 (TANJUG)—The number of refugees from the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia seeking shelter in the Republic of Serbia is growing. As reported by the Red Cross of Serbia, 117,475 refugees were in Serbia today.

Of that number, 48,920 refugees are in Serbia's northern Province of Vojvodina, 67,659 in Serbia proper and 844 in Serbia's southern Province of Kosovo-Metohija.

Two thousand and 49 refugees arrived in Serbia in the past 24 hours alone.

Jovanovic Holds Talks With Austria's Mock

WA1510123891

For Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio reportage on the talks between Serbian Foreign Minister Vladimir Jovanovic and Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock, please see the Austria section of the 15 October West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Bosnian Assembly Discusses Independence Issue

AU1210192091 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 11 Oct 91

[Correspondents Dragan Gardovic and Nada Rajkovic report on the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly session in Sarajevo on 11 October]

[Text] Instead of at 1530 GMT as agreed, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly continued its work in the evening. Assembly President Momcilo Krajisnik explained that the time between 1400 GMT and 1830 GMT was used for party consultations in order to summarize the debate on Bosnia-Hercegovina's position on the future constitution of Yugoslavia in joint stands and a joint proposal. However, a joint solution was not found, Krajisnik said, but it was agreed that the proposals would be presented. Afterward, in the name of the group of deputies from several parties, Azra Idrisbegovic proposed to the Assembly that it adopt the following memorandum:

[Begin Idrisbegovic recording] Point One. Bearing in mind that the Republic of Serbia by adopting its new constitution and the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia by their plebiscitary and referendum decisions and the later measures based on these decisions in essence and irreversibly changed Yugoslavia's Constitution and created a new legal and actual state, the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly is drawing attention to the decree of the valid 60th amendment to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. With this amendment, according to which Bosnia-Hercegovina is, I quote, a democratic, sovereign state of equal citizens and nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Muslims, Serbs and Croats, and members of other nations and nationalities that live in it — the constitutional status of Bosnia-Hercegovina has been permanently defined, as well as its internal relations and its relations toward others.

Point two. Bosnia-Hercegovina will continue to advocate the survival of the Yugoslav community set up on a new basis that would be acceptable for everyone. In the meantime, it will also advocate the normal functioning of the existing joint institutions. However, its representatives will not take part in the sessions of the SFRY Assembly and SFRY Presidency if these sessions are not attended by representatives of all republics and regions. The possible decisions adopted by these bodies when they are not fully staffed do not oblige Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Point three. Regarding the national constitution of its population, Bosnia-Hercegovina will not accept any constitutional solutions on the future Yugoslav community that do not at the same time include Serbia and Croatia. In the future integration, regardless of the form it will take, Bosnia-Hercegovina must be linked with Serbia and Croatia in the same way.

Point four. Bosnia-Hercegovina is seeking the full demilitarization of its territory. Taking this as its long-term aim, Bosnia-Hercegovina supports the efforts to consolidate the cease-fire in the current conflict and to create permanent peace. If these efforts for any reason fail, Bosnia-Hercegovina will do everything in its power to remain neutral in this conflict, which means that its citizens will not be engaged on any of the sides in the conflict, and that its territory will not be used for military purposes.

Point five. The stands outlined in the memorandum express the will of the majority of the deputies of this Assembly, and as such, also the political will of the majority of Bosnia-Hercegovina's citizens. Therefore, they present the compulsory basis for the behavior of the state and political bodies of the republic.

Point six. Departing from the right of the Assembly majority to decide about the future of the republic as a whole, this Assembly at the same time recognizes the rights of the Assembly minority to demand and implement any legitimate interest—ethnic, cultural, economic, or social—on the condition that the latter are implemented without the use of force and in a legal and democratic way.

Point seven. The Assembly will inform the domestic and international public about this memorandum. [end recording]

In the name of the club of deputies of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS], which is rejecting the memorandum in full, Vojislav Maksimovic presented the party's stands on the document:

[Begin Maksimovic recording] Point One. We reject the entire text of the proposed memorandum letter of intentions that was offered at tonight's session by the Party of Democratic Action [SDA]. We are convinced that this is an act that ccontradicts the existing constitutional provisions and the usual and normal Assembly procedures. Moreover, this act negates the agreement that was reached at the last joint session of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly according to which no solution will be imposed on a nation against its will. If the proposals contained in the memorandum were accepted, they would represent a strong negation of the political will of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because, according to the content and spirit of these proposals, the Serbian nation would be

taken out of Yugoslavia against its will and the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina is also a constituent part of it.

Point two. The way to a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be via secession from Yugoslavia. Only a sovereign nation can secede, that is to say, the sovereign nations of Bosnia-Hercegovina—Serbs, Croats, and Muslims—each of them separately, two of them together, or all three together. However, the right of a nation to secede cannot take precedence over a nation's right to stay in Yugoslavia. The peoples' right to secede can only be realized by democratic means in the SFRY Assembly.

Point three. The deputies of the SDS and the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], as legitimate representatives of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, confirm the constantly expressed political will of their people that they want to remain part of the SFRY together with its territory. This will of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be changed by any unilateral and forcefully adopted acts, one of which is also the proposed memorandum. Therefore, we cannot vote for it, and we will not accept it being imposed on us by anyone. [end recording]

Bosnia-Hercegovina should be sovereign and equal with other republics, said Muhamed Cengic supporting the memorandum and stressing that due to the departure of two republics the old Yugoslavia does not exist any more. As for the new one, we have to reach an agreement. He gave the following rationale for that:

[Begin Chengic recording] We need to find out which republics and states want to create Yugoslavia. But no nationality in Bosnia-Hercegovina can tell us what kind of Yugoslavia we want or must have, regardless of what it might be. We don't know whether that Yugoslavia or great Serbia will be a republic or a kingdom. So gentlemen, you tell us then that we need to join the kingdom of Serbia, and then we'll discuss whether we want to do it or not. [end recording]

Supporting the memorandum, Vlado Pandzic, on behalf of the Club of the Croatian Democratic Community deputies, said:

[Begin Pandzic recording] In accordance with our reasoning until this time, the Club of the Croatian Democratic Community, once again, is for a sovereign state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

Nisad Dzapo proposed on behalf of the opposing parties that the Assembly end the discussion for today and arrange for it to continue on 14 October. Based on this proposal a working group should be formed this evening to include representatives of all parliamentary parties. By 14 October this group should formulate a proposal for the possible structure and position of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Dzapo even proposed the members for this parliamentary group. After the clubs of delegates reached agreement, the president of the Assembly, Momcilo Krajisnik, approved the nominated members of the group and proposed Mariofil Ljubic as the group leader. The group would work until 14 October, and the Assembly session, based on his suggestion, should take place on Tuesday, 15 October.

His proposal was not supported by Irfan Ajanovic, who wanted the session to continue on 12 October at 1300 [1200 GMT]. He was joined in this by Ejup Ganic and Vlado Pandzic. Aleksa Buhar and Momcilo Gorjan, on the other hand, supported Krajisnik's proposal. If there is a will, the positions could be reconciled in a matter of three to four hours, said Alija Izetbegovic, and proposed that the session be continued on 12 October. We will not give up the idea of a sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said, and added:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] Tomorrow, we will try to bring together two things that we care about, that we care about most at present. These are the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina and peace therein. We will try to accomplish these two things tomorrow. We cannot force those who do not want to do it. We cannot deprive ourselves of what other peoples have. We want Bosnia-Hercegovina to be sovereign. Therefore, we cannot deprive ourselves of that. Delaying this would be in vain. We can try to negotiate and find out what bothers the Serbian Democratic Party in this text, the platform, the text that was presented tonight.

Let me tell you something. We are referring to Yugoslavia all the time. You are witnesses of the fact that we, as far as we could, fought for the Yugoslav idea, for a Yugoslav idea. We are not, to say the least, those who undermined and dismantled Yugoslavia. The dismantling started on the other side. This document clearly shows who started to dismantle Yugoslavia. The Republic of Serbia started first to dismantle Yugoslavia by adopting a new constitution.

The Serbian people have the right to self-determination. We are not denying this right. After all, this right is recognized by international acts, because peoples have the right to self-determination, we are not denying it. We hold the view that despite this Bosnia-Hercegovina will secure sovereignty. [end recording]

Radovan Karadzic criticized the SDA for favoring the federation during the pre-election campaign, while tonight, according to him, it is striving for an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Begin Karadzic recording] Striving for the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina is striving for the secession of Bosnia-Hercegovina from Yugoslavia. Gentlemen, this is not done in this way, nor can it be done in this way. In this way we could spark off the flames of a civil war in which the citizens, peoples, and towns of Bosnia-Hercegovina would disappear. Not because this is the will of an individual. Muhamed Filipovic put it nicely today or yesterday—I do not know whether he is a traitor, the Muslim people should decide on this—that war is the continuation of politics with non-political

means, weapons. This means that when politics finds itself at an impasse, and we are pushing it there by futile attempts to separate Bosnia-Hercegovina from Yugoslavia, then, because of the relations that will exist, because of the situation in which we will find ourselves, a war will break out that no one will be able to prevent. There is no individual who can prevent the war. [end recording]

Toward the end of his speech, Radovan Karadzic stressed that the Serbian people will remain in Yugoslavia, and that they will not impose their will on other peoples.

After these speeches, Momcilo Krajisnik called for a recess. The Assembly is still in recess.

No Accord on Future Status of Republic

LD1410173591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, October 14 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina did not resume work this morning as planned, since a parliamentary group failed to prepare a document about the future status of the republic acceptable to all three ruling parties in the republic.

The leaders of the three parties—the Democratic Action Party, which rallies Muslims, the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Community—and members of the parliamentary group resumed work behind closed doors this morning and, as reporters were told, are trying to bring closer the opposing stands on the future status of the multi-national republic.

A stand on the republic's status is to be adopted by the republican assembly and to be presented to the Hague peace conference on Yugoslavia, which resumed work in the plenary today.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly discussed last Thursday and Friday a platform drawn up by the republican Presidency, according to which Bosnia-Hercegovina should be a sovereign and independent state within the existing borders. The platform did not receive the support of the two members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency who are Serbs.

The Serbian Democratic Party qualified the platform as "an attempt at the secession of Bosnia-Hercegovina from Yugoslavia." The Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina are against the drawing of any state border between them and the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbia. The Serbs living in Bosnia-Hercegovina support the 'Belgrade initiative' which calls for Yugoslavia to be a new, modern federation of the nations which wish to continue living in it.

Neither of the two proposals was either approved or totally rejected by the Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament, after which a special multi-party parliamentary group was formed to try an draw up a generally acceptable document by 10 A.M. today, when the republican parliament was to reconvene.

The Belgrade daily BORBA today writes that the absence of a consensus could be dangerous for multi-national Bosnia-Hercegovina, since its citizens are "divided into national formations and are armed to the teeth."

BORBA writes that, unofficially, at least 300,000 people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are armed, and it recalls that the republic accounts for the bulk of the Yugoslav military industry.

According to the census taken this year, 43.77 percent of Bosnia- Hercegovina's population are Muslims, 31.46 percent Serbs, and 17.34 percent Croats.

Assembly Adopts Platform on Republic's Future

LD1510071191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0145 GMT 15 Oct 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Oct (TANJUG)—Early this morning, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, meeting without a complete composition, adopted by majority vote a platform outlining the republic's status in the future Yugoslav community as proposed by the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and adopted a memorandum on the republic's sovereignty as proposed by the Party for Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije].

In the absence of Serbian deputies, the assembly rejected the so-called Belgrade initiative, as well as a resolution submitted by the opposition. A decision was also made to discuss the Serbian Democratic Party's document [not further specified] at some future sessions and in the presence of Serbian deputies. The assembly also decided to postpone discussion on the third and the fourth points of the agenda.

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In the absence of Serbian deputies, the assembly rejected the so-called Belgrade initiative, as well as a resolution submitted by the opposition. A decision was also made to discuss the Serbian Democratic Party's document [not further specified] at some future sessions and in the

presence of Serbian deputies. The assembly also decided to postpone discussion on the third and the fourth points of the agenda.

Bosnia Asssembly Adopts Documents on Status

LD1510124991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 15 Oct 91

[report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Sarajevo]

[Text] At 0300 this morning, following their 15-hour session, delegates of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly adopted the Bosnia-Hercegovian Presidency's platform on the republic's status and the future organization of the Yugoslav community as well as the memorandum of the Party for Democratic Action. According to the platform Bosnia-Hercegovina will develop as a civic republic and a sovereign and indivisible state with inviolable and unalterable borders. Concerning Yugoslavia, the platform specifies that for Bosnia-Hercegovina the most natural and the top priority development is in the direction of an integration with the member-states of the present SFRY whose form and intensity would be decided by agreement.

Bosnia-Hercegovina will advocate a six-member community to be constituted on the basis of a convention on mutual recognition of sovereignty and the inviolability and unalterability of the borders of the present republics and a convention on constituting a new Yugoslav community. The platform also adds that Bosnia-Hercegovina will advocate a community which would include both the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Serbia. The platform also specifies that the Armed Forces are under the control of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

In its introduction the memorandum proceeds from the platform with an additional stand which says that representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina will not take part in the work of the federal organs unless representatives of all republics and provinces are present and that decisions passed by incomplete federal organs will not be binding for this republic. In the current conflict Bosnia-Hercegovina will remain neutral and will advocate the demilitarisation of its territory. The memorandum also obliges the republic's state and political organs to guarantee provisions for the minority parties in the Assembly to implement their interests in a democratic way.

The adoption of these two documents was preceeded by a dramatic session with many intervals. During the entire session representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] procrastinated over the voting, made various threats if defeated, and all this with the active support of the Assembly president, an SDS member himself, who halted the session whenever it suited the deputies from his party. An incident was even staged last night when a rumor spread that a bomb had been planted in the Assembly building.

When it became clear that the above outcome was inevitble Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Assembly, declared the session closed at 0130 and together with the SDS deputies walked out of the session. They never came back which means that the above decisions were passed without their vote.

This session will inevitably be in the focus of attention for a long time but it can already be described as a big victory for democratic forces in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, tht is, for the deputies of the Party for Democratic Action and of the Croatian Democratic Community, with the votes from several opposition deputies. This is a decision of historic importance for Bosnia- Hercegovina which refuses to succumb to the dictate of Serbia or to membership in an incomplete federation.

Bosanska Krajina Authorities Protest Croatian Attacks

LD1410195291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Banja Luka, Oct 14 (TANJUG)—In the attacks by the illegal army of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on the Bosanska Krajina region, 13 civilians have been killed and 34 wounded, the head of the centre of security services in this border region of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Stojan Zupljanin, said today.

Zupljanin said that in the last two months, since Croatian armed formations began their attacks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, 39 sabotage and terrorist acts have been perpetrated throughout the Bosanska Krajina region.

This was made public after a talk that the local authorities in the city of Banja Luka and the political centre of the Bosanska Krajina region held with European Community (E.C.) monitors Jens Hansen, Francisco Rosaleny and Dermont J. Cogan.

Zupljanin told the E.C. monitors that 300 mortars were fired on the area of Bosanska Gradiska alone, a Bosnian city bordering Croatia. All this, he said, was the consequence of "the state terrorism of the Republic of Croatia towards Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Croatian armed formations, as Banja Luka Mayor Predrag Radic told the E.C. observers, destroyed all bridges on the Rivers Una and Sava, leaving Bosanska Krajina and other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina without communications towards the country's north and Europe.

Mayor Radic stressed that this was why the region's production and exports declined tangibly while its economic situation was appreciably burdened with the influx of around 40,000 refugees from Croatia so far.

The E.C. observers chose Banja Luka to set up their regional ceasefire monitoring centre.